

DARK TOURISM MOTIVATIONS:

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE MOTIVATIONS OF VISITORS TO SITES ASSOCIATED WITH DARK TOURISM.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title page	1
Acknowledgement	2
Table of content	3
List of tables	6
Abstract	7
 1.0 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	 8
1.0 Chapter overview	8
1.1 Introduction	8
1.2 Rationale for study	9
1.3 Context of the study	9
1.4 Aim	13
1.5 Objectives	13
1.6 Proposed methodology	13
1.7 The gaps in the literature	15
1.8 Limitations of study	18
1.9 Justification of research	18
1.9.1 Contribution of the research	19
1.9.2 Proposed structure of study	19
1.9.3 Chapter One: Introduction	19
1.9.4 Chapter Two: Literature review	20
1.9.5 Chapter Three: Research methodology	20
1.9.6 Chapter Four: Results	21
1.9.7 Chapter Five: Discussion of results	21
1.9.8 Chapter Six: Conclusion and recommendations	22
1.9.9 Chapter summary	22
 2.0 CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	 23
2.0 Chapter overview	23
2.1 Introduction	24
2.2 Travel motivations	26
2.3 Dark tourism motivations	29
2.4 Push and pull factors in travel	36
2.5 Leisure and deviance	42
2.6 Cinematography and deviant recreation	43
2.7 Murder mystery	47
2.8 Wound culture	49
2.9 The tourist experience of place	50
2.9.1 Souvenirs	58
2.9.2 Dark tourism souvenir collection	63
2.9.3 Photography, collecting images at destination	64
2.9.4 Photography and dark tourism	66
2.9.5 Souvenirs, war and the macabre	71
2.9.6 Hot interpretation and dark tourism	76
2.9.7 The gaps in the literature	83
2.9.8 Chapter summary	84

3.0	CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	85
3.0	Chapter overview	85
3.1	The paradigm	85
3.2	The ontology	89
3.3	Epistemology	91
3.4	Phenomenology	94
3.5	Means-End Chain analysis	101
3.6	Originality of methods employed	109
3.7	Thematic analysis, using VALS	110
3.8	The sample	112
3.9	The pilot study	114
3.9.1	Justification of rejecting some of the informants	115
3.9.2	Trustworthiness	115
3.9.3	Reliability and validity	119
3.9.4	Chapter summary	125
4.0	CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS	127
4.0	Chapter overview	127
4.1	Interview 1 & 2. Dark fun factories	129
4.2	Interview 3 & 4. Dark exhibitions	138
4.3	Interview 5 & 6. Dark dungeons	146
4.4	Interview 7 & 8. Dark resting places	156
4.5	Interview 9 & 10. Dark shrines	166
4.6	Interview 11 & 12. Dark conflict sites	179
4.7	Interviews 13 & 14. Dark camps of genocide	189
4.8	Chapter summary	199
5.0	CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF RESULTS	200
5.0	Chapter overview	200
5.1	Discussion of results Section 1 (sites 1-6, lightest, lighter & light)	200
5.2	Use of technology to inform visit	200
5.3	Edutainment	201
5.4	Friendship & kinship / social recognition from peers	203
5.5	Imagination	205
5.6	Souvenir collection	206
5.7	Discussion of results Section 2 (sites 9-14, dark, darker and darkest)	209
5.8	Use of technology to inform visit	209
5.9	Emotional	210
6.0	Social recognition / intellectual	211
6.1	To better understand	211
6.2	Education	212
6.3	Souvenir collection	213
6.4	Chapter summary	215

7.0	CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS	216
7.0	Chapter overview	216
7.1	Conclusion	216
7.2	Objective 1	216
7.3	Objective 2	217
7.4	Objective 3	221
7.5	Objective 4	224
7.6	Objective 5	225
7.7	Recommendations	226
7.8	Recommendations for industry	226
7.9	Academic recommendations	232
7.9.1	Future research recommendations	233
7.9.2	Chapter summary	235
8.0	REFERENCES	236
9.0	APPENDICES	264
Appendix 1.	Ladder interview 1. DARK FUN FACTORIES	265
Appendix 2.	Ladder interview 2. DARK FUN FACTORIES	266
Appendix 3.	Ladder interview 3. DARK EXHIBITIONS	267
Appendix 4.	Ladder interview 4. DARK EXHIBITIONS	268
Appendix 5.	Ladder interview 5. DARK DUNGEONS	269
Appendix 6.	Ladder interview 6. DARK DUNGEONS	270
Appendix 7.	Ladder interview 7. DARK RESTING PLACES	271
Appendix 8.	Ladder interview 8 . DARK RESTING PLACES	272
Appendix 9.	Ladder interview 9. DARK SHRINES	273
Appendix 10.	Ladder interview 10. DARK SHRINES	274
Appendix 11.	Ladder interview 11. DARK CONFLICT SITES	275
Appendix 12.	Ladder interview 12. DARK CONFLICT SITES	276
Appendix 13.	Ladder interview 13. DARK CAMPS OF GENOCIDE	277
Appendix 14.	Ladder interview 14. DARK CAMPS OF GENOCIDE	278

Table number	Description	Page
1.	Interview venue and classification	12
2.	Gaps in the literature	15
3.	The differing levels of dark tourism	25
4.	Gaps in the literature	83
5.	Components of this chapter	85
6.	The differing types of paradigms that exist	87
7.	The differing Ontology	90
8.	The differing Epistemology	91
9.	Instrumental and terminal values	112
10.	Interview types and venue	127
11.	Interviews 1 & 2. Dark fun factories	129
12.	Interviews 3 & 4. Dark exhibitions	138
13.	Interviews 5 & 6. Dark dungeons	146
14.	Interviews 7 & 8. Dark resting places	156
15.	Interviews 9 & 10. Dark shrines	166
16.	Interviews 11 & 12. Dark conflict site	179
17.	Interviews 13 & 14. Dark camps of genocide	189
18.	Souvenir collection by interview	213
19.	Schematic summary of results (lightest, lighter & light)	214
20.	Schematic summary of results (Dark, darker & darkest)	214

ABSTRACT

In recent years the notion of tourists visiting sites associated with death and destruction has started to receive much attention within the associated literature, with issues coupled with visitor motivations being key to this research. The genre that probably best describes the study of this subject matter (death and destruction) is 'dark tourism'. Lennon & Foley (1996, p200) describe this as "the phenomenon which encompasses the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites". The identification of those factors that guide the selection of such dark sites and a review of visitor's on-site experiences and subsequent post visit behaviour is important and requires further attention.

The main aim of this study is to better understand the motivations and on-site activities of visitors to contemporary dark tourism sites. In addition the methods associated with archiving the visit in terms of souvenir hunting, photography and other related actions will be investigated. From what is evidenced in the literature, it is clear to see that many of these dark locations can be broadly classified as 'dark shrines' (Stone, 2006); but there has been little empirical investigation relating to visitor motivations and behaviour of visitors whilst at these sites.

The empirical data was collected using qualitative methods, primarily Means-End Chain (MEC) analysis was employed. This is a qualitative methodological tool, employing a semi-structured one on one interview style. Fourteen interviews in total were used from individuals who had visited dark sites and the data was analysed using the Rokeach Value Survey (RVS).

The results suggest that the main motivations for visiting those sites that are deemed lighter on the dark spectrum were associated with entertainment, family fun and some learning, with much emphasis upon showcasing the experience to peers upon their return home. In contrast the motivations for visiting dark sites such as concentration camps and camps of mass genocide tended to be more empathetic with the victims, with issues associated with education and intellectual enquiry being fundamental to the visit. Issues associated with peer recognition as a result of the visit were not deemed as important for those visiting darker sites.

In conclusion the research shows that visitors to the lighter sites tend to be informed by family and loved ones with emphasis upon enjoyment and family kinship. In contrast those who visit the darker sites tended to be more interested in the educational and academic overtones associated with the site, with a keen interest in history further facilitating this need. The main contribution of this research relates to the differing needs as identified by light and dark visitors whilst at site. Visitors at lighter sites tend to require more operational based information associated with facilities and merchandising provision, whereas visitors to darker sites require information that is geo-political and quasi academic in nature, so as to better understand the magnitude of the atrocities. In terms of the manner by which light and dark visitors go about collecting artefacts / souvenirs this also differs greatly with lighter visitors looking for commercially produced items to take home and take picture of family members in situ. In contrast visitors to darker sites choose to collect souvenirs at site which are often items of nature associated specifically with the sight. Picture taking is limited, but when used is associated with the site and the surroundings.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Chapter overview

This chapter introduces the area of dark tourism, and identifies the key areas of the research that are going to be investigated. Issues associated with the definition and the evolution of dark tourism will be presented. One key aim of this chapter is to place the subject matter under investigation in context as outlined in the aim and objectives of the research. A brief review of the associated literature is appraised as is the research methodology to be employed. The context of the research is discussed as are the limitations and justification of the research.

1.1 Introduction

Following the growth of tourism development post World War Two, rising living standards and the evolution of technology, the tourism industry has seen rapid expansion and growth. Indeed during the late 1950s and early 1960s, large numbers of tourists spearheaded the first real forms of mass tourism to Europe and further afield. Individual motivations for consuming tourism products associated with a sun, sea and sand genre has been discussed at great length within the academic literature, but more recent phenomena associated with tourists visiting sites associated with death and destruction is very much under researched (Dale & Robinson 2011). Within the academic study of tourism, the genre that probably best describes the study of the macabre is dark tourism. Lennon & Foley (1996; 200) describe this as “the phenomenon which encompasses the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites”.

Indeed, whilst many have been critical of this ghoulish practice of visiting sites of death, which Blom (2000, p36) refers to as ‘morbid tourism’, and the eventual commercial backlash (Schofield 1998; Watts 2008), Stone & Sharpley (2008) and more recently Stone (2011) have debated that dark tourism as a subject matter is still under researched, especially in relation to visitor motivations and on-site behaviour at those sites with no third party or commercial involvement. Aligned to the aforementioned points is the recognition that the human psyche, often subconsciously employs a moral compass in an attempt to define what is acceptable or unacceptable in terms of the selection of subject matter for consumption. Identifying the factors that guide the selection of such dark sites and examining visitor’s on-site experiences and subsequent post visit behaviour is therefore important and warrants further research (Miles 2014). Identifying the factors that guide the selection of such dark sites and examining visitor’s on-site experiences and subsequent post visit behaviour is therefore important and warrants further research (Buda 2015, Hartmann 2014).

1.2 Rationale for study

The focus of this study is to investigate and further our understanding of the motivations and on-site activities of contemporary dark tourism site visitors with particular reference to the methods associated with archiving the visit in terms of souvenir hunting, photography and other related actions. The main issues this study will concentrate on will include the actions of visitor to dark sites pre, during and post visit, the methods of souvenir collection and subsequent archiving activities.

1.3 Context of the study

This research builds upon an earlier conceptual paper by Stone (2006) which introduces a typological framework that attempts to theoretically illustrate the differing levels at which

dark tourism can be viewed. These differing components of dark tourism are placed in a 'light to dark' framework, with sites being placed in a linear style format with the commercial dark dungeons of Merlin Entertainment at one end (lightest) and at the other, those sites associated with genocide and mass extermination being defined as darkest. This study is based on fourteen sites at international destinations around the globe that represent the varying types of dark attractions as detailed in Stones (2006) typological framework.

In terms of why we should want to investigate dark tourism and the subsequent actions of visitors, this in itself is a subject that by its very nature warrants further investigation. Whilst visits to dark sites have been engaged in for thousands of years, the individual and various motivations have yet to be empirically reviewed and this is a fundamental reason to research dark tourism. In term of the size of dark tourism it is has been argued by Kolehmainen (2014) that it is an integral part of most holiday experiences, with visitors allocating a certain amount of time within the main holiday to view the spectacle of death or a location associated with it. For example a romantic trip to Rome will no doubt take in a visit to the sporting chamber of death (the Coliseum), or a trip to India will probably visit the Taj Mahal (a mausoleum).

In terms of the specific subject area, the visitation to dark sites and archiving, have both themselves been investigated individually, but not together. By marrying up the actions and activities pre, during and post site visit a more holistic picture emerges as to the actions of visitors to such sites. As a sector, the dark tourism industry is niche and is different to that of the traditional tourism sector. Firstly many of its informal sites receive little promotion and are often staffed by enthusiasts and collectors. In terms of public perceptions, many have been negative of its existence choosing to view its patronage as inappropriate, a spectacle of titillation for the deviants of society, "milking the macabre" Dann (1994; 61). In its defence, many of those who engage in dark tourism consumption do it for all the moral and right

reasons citing respect, reverence, understanding and empathy as reasons for visiting. In contrast to the racier side of its tourism relative, that of the traditional sun, sea, sand and sex variant of tourism experience, or come to that other forms of recreation and play, the dark experience is possibly mild by comparison (Bowman and Pezzullo 2009). It does not attempt to litter, defame, damage or disrespect those who are host to its existence. In some cases the tourism industry has been somewhat reluctant to recognise the existence and contribution of dark tourism, choosing to advocate the benefits of the Spanish Costa experience, over the educational narrative of visiting a site where contemporary death has occurred. In terms of a sector, dark tourism is very much fragmented and can be incorporated within a whole host of related areas such as battle tourism, war tourism, pro-poor tourism and ghetto tourism to name but a few.

From a more macro perspective this research has a number of implications for the wider dark tourism research community, firstly it offers a clearer insight into the motivations of visitors to contemporary sites of death and secondly the manner by which the visit is remembered is also appraised. This has implications for the way sites are managed, for example visitor site management techniques and for the way in which educational content is disseminated. Not only will the research enable location planners to better understand the human psyche behind the pull factors that subsequently facilitate the visit, but it will also provide a clearer understanding of how the pull factors at location subconsciously and consciously draw the visitor to the site. A clearer understanding should also emerge as to those pull factors at location that in many cases subconsciously draw the visitor to site, and create the need for them to better understand. An increased understanding of such activities has ramifications for how as a society we investigate the origins of death and consume its educational content and subsequently how we remember such an experience through the process of archiving.

Table 1, below details the type of sites that have been visited, their location and details regarding visitor types. The locations were informed by Stones (2006) dark tourism spectrum. The premise with Stones model is that varying degrees of darkness exist in relation to dark sites, at one end (the lightest) mock manifestation of darkness exist within the dark dungeon, represented by the likes of Merlin Entertainment, dungeon concept. At the other end of the spectrum we have the darkest sites, represented as camps of mass genocide; examples include the likes of Auschwitz and Cambodia genocide museum. The fourteen interviews were conducted with participants who had experienced one of the seven stages of darkness on Stones' (2006) dark spectrum.

Table 1. Interview venue and classification

Interview	Stones classification	Venue
1 & 2	DARK FUN FACTORIES (lightest) Dark fun factories are visitor site / attractions with high emphasis upon mock morbidity, commercialisation and entertainment. Many of these sites / attractions charge for entry.	Interview 1. Scream @ Madame Tussauds, London (UK) (female 45). Interview 2. The York Dungeon, York (UK) (male 33)
3 & 4	DARK EXHIBITIONS (lighter) Dark exhibitions are associated with commercialisation mixed with education. A key component associated with this kind of exhibition is the blend between death, education and some entertainment components.	Interview 3. British Museum, Egyptian exhibition, London (UK) (male 41). Interview 4. The International Slavery Museum, Liverpool (UK) (female 25).
5 & 6	DARK DUNGEONS (light) Dark dungeon represents those sites associated with bygone penal incarceration. Many of these sites are former prisons or courthouses with emphasis upon education, entertainment and some merchandising.	Interview 5. Robben Island, (South Africa) (male 58). Interview 6. Alcatraz, (USA) (female 53).
7 & 8	DARK RESTING PLACES (mid-range) Dark resting places are primarily associated with cemeteries and graves, some commercial elements may exist as in the case of the 'Dearly Departed' tours in Hollywood that's tours the graves of the rich and famous.	Interview 7. Aberfan, (UK) (female 38). Interview 8. WW2 Graves, Dunkirk Town (France) (female 20).
9 & 10	DARK SHRINES (dark) Dark shrines tend to be associated with acts of remembrance and respect / reverence for those who have recently died. Such shrines may be in a relatively close chronology to the present day and may also take on a quasi-political aspect to their presentation. Such shrines can be formally or informally constructed.	Interview 9. Ground Zero, (USA) (male 22). Interview 10. Saddleworth Moor, (UK) (male 42).
11 & 12	DARK CONFLICT SITE (darker) Dark conflict sites are associated with acts of warfare and battlefields. Many of the sites have education and commemorative overtones.	Interview 11. Nicosia, (Cyprus) (male 22). Interview 12. Medieval battle sites, varied (UK) (male 21).

13 & 14	DARK CAMPS OF GENOCIDE (darkest) Dark camps of genocide are those sites where state sponsored / sanctioned genocide has taken place, Rwanda, Cambodia and Auschwitz are examples of such sites.	Interview 13. Auschwitz, (Poland) (male 20). Interview 14. Tuol Sleng genocide museum S-21, Phnom Penh.
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1.4 Aim

Given the present gap in the existing literature, this research aims to further our understanding of the motivations and on-site activities of contemporary dark tourism site visitors with particular reference to the methods associated with archiving the visit in terms of souvenir hunting, photography and other related actions.

1.5 Objectives

1. Review critically the literature on tourist consumption of sites associated with dark tourism, including informal locations in order to identify research gaps.
2. Investigate visitor perceptions of dark tourism sites in relation to: awareness; interest; ethical beliefs; information search; motivations and constraints.
3. Examine visitor behaviour and attitudes associated with on-site experience including souvenir hunting, photography, and chronological distance.
4. To examine critically visitors behaviors and attitudes post experience in terms of archiving and storage of materials sourced from visits to dark sites.
5. Draw conclusions relating to the primary and secondary data and make recommendations to key stakeholders based on those conclusions

1.6 Proposed Methodology

Means-End Chain (MEC) theory is a qualitative methodological tool employed to clarify those values held by consumers when making decisions. MEC dictates that users choose products and services that have particular attributes which enable the user to attain required consequences. MEC seeks to investigate how an individual's selection process associated with a specific commodity enables the user to achieve a desired outcome (Gutman 1982). The concept involves a number of elements that attempts to link perceived values associated with a particular commodity and the benefits associated with that selection choice. From an

historical perspective, MEC has a valued pedigree as a methodological tool and has been employed in a multitude of disciplines, but it is rooted in the marketing discipline where it originated (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon 2009). The MEC research technique employs a semi-structured one on one interview style; this has also been referred to as the laddering technique (Reynolds & Gutman 1988). The laddering technique was developed by Hinkle (1965) primarily for use in the area of clinical psychology to investigate individual motivations and values associated with decision making. The use of laddering enables the interviewer to identify behavioural traits as held by the interviewee (Weeden 2008) and enables the researcher to identify attributes associated with the product which are important to the purchaser, Reynolds & Gutman (2001; 26) perfectly encapsulate the notion of the laddering technique when they state that “laddering is an interview technique which is used to develop an understanding of how consumers translate the attributes of a product into meaningful association with respect to the self”. The laddering interview technique attempts to delve into the hidden human psyche of purchase behaviour and link product characteristics to the benefits of use, and in turn to specific values held by the consumer. The laddering technique requires the interviewee to identify attributes associated with a particular product or service and then apply a particular level of importance to that product or service. The characteristics associated with the product or service are then applied to a particular consequence of using the product or service and finally then to a value associated in the mind of the consumer with using the product or service. In this scenario the interviewee is continually questioned by the interviewer in an attempt to link the Attributes (A), Consequences (C) and Values (V) they associate with the product or service they have used / purchased.

In terms of obtaining the data from the ladder interviews the author has employed Rokeach (1973) Value Survey (RVS) as a method of thematic analysis for this study. The RVS concept is based around two sets of values, the values are defined as instrumental values and terminal values, within each of these value categories there exists 18 individual value items. Starting with the instrumental values these are beliefs or conceptions about desirable modes of behaviour that are instrumental to the attainment of desirable end points, such as honesty, responsibility, and capability. Terminal values are beliefs or conceptions about ultimate goals of existence that are worth surviving for, such as happiness, self-respect, and freedom. Those individuals interviewed had visited a dark tourism site, as detailed in table 1 (see venue column).

1.7 The gaps in the literature

The research identifies a number of gaps in the literature (see Table 2).

Table 2. Gaps in the literature

Literature source	Gap in the literature	Implications for this study
Sharpley & Stone (2009), Stone & Sharpley, (2008).	1. Whilst much of the primary research which has hitherto been carried out has examined motivations for visiting sites that have been designed to accommodate a more commercial type of dark visitor. Little research has been carried out on those less formally recognized dark sites associated with death and in particular in a contemporary setting.	This highlights a gap in the literature and an opportunity to make significant contribution. This has influenced the research, as the sites chosen are themselves on the whole non-commercial enterprises or have little of the commercial trappings of the formally managed dark sites. Gap = The main gap here is the under researching of the motivations to visit such informal sites and the activities, pre, during and post visit in terms of archiving. How study has filled this gap = The results displayed detail archiving practices and motivations for visiting such sites.
Stone, P.R. (2006, Robb (2009)	2. Given that motivations for consuming the dark are complex and multi-layered, the deconstruction of such phenomena is challenging. It is further acknowledged that the dark	This highlights a gap in the literature in relation to the differing motivations for visiting different dark sites. Gap = The main gap here is the manner by which individuals visit

	<p>tourism experience is subjective and will vary from one individual to another including their relationship to the site</p>	<p>sites and their personal relationship with site, that in turn facilitates the propensity to travel.</p> <p>How study has filled this gap = The study shows a personal relationship that individuals have with certain locations and this is borne out in the personal narratives of each interview.</p>
<p>Beeho & Prentice (1995), Stone, P. (2012).</p>	<p>3. Whilst the study of heritage sites and the motivations associated with visits to such places have been covered both empirically and conceptually, the same cannot necessarily be said regarding dark sites. More importantly whilst heritage site investigation shows certain practices associated with consumption at site, the same cannot be said regarding the consumption patterns of individuals at contemporary dark tourism sites.</p>	<p>This highlights a gap in the literature in relation to the specific consumption practices of visitors at differing contemporary dark sites. With this in mind the author interviewed individuals who had visited dark sites (as opposed to heritage sites, where the majority of the research has focused on in the past).</p> <p>Gap = The main gap here was the lack of dark tourism research specific to dark sites, as opposed to the more general heritage sites.</p> <p>How study has filled this gap = The interviewing of 14 individuals who visited specific dark sites has enabled a clearer picture to emerge as to the consumption pattern of individuals at contemporary dark sites.</p>
<p>Drozda (2006), Miller & Gonzalez (2013), Smith (2014), Williams (2009).</p>	<p>4. Indeed, whilst leisure has the potential to enhance and facilitate social wellbeing and has been covered extensively within the traditional academic arena; it can be argued that the darker, more deviant edges of leisure consumption need investigation, in greater detail.</p>	<p>This highlights a gap in the literature in relation to the consumption of dark tourism as a component of deviant leisure. This affected the study as much of the previous deviant related literature was in the domain of leisure, as opposed to being in the context of dark tourism.</p> <p>Gap = The main gap here was the lack of specific literature in relation to dark tourism consumption and its relationship with deviant leisure.</p>

		<p>How study has filled gap = The discussion and subsequent literature review has discussed and reviewed dark tourism in the context of deviant leisure. In addition to which the empirical data collection shows that those lighter visited sites contain components of deviant leisure activities, such as thrill seeking, the frightening of others, inappropriate behaviour at site (walk like an Egyptian) and showcasing the experience with others post visit (aka, showboating).</p>
Paraskevaidis & Andriotis (2015)	<p>5. The literature associated with souvenir hunting and souvenir hunting at dark sites and the justification for such acts, either for remembrance, profit making or for personal reasons is greatly under researched within the literature.</p>	<p>This highlights a gap in the literature in relation to the motivations for collecting souvenirs at dark sites. This greatly affected this study and resulted in the design of key questions so as to ascertain the level at which individuals engaged in souvenir hunting pre, during and post visit and subsequent archiving activities.</p> <p>Gap = Lack of literature and empirical data related to the collection of souvenirs at dark sites, both pre, during and post visit and subsequent archiving activities.</p> <p>How study has filled gaps = The 14 interviews have detailed the manner by which individuals collect souvenirs at dark sites, pre, during and post visit. Issues associated with the viewing and archiving of such souvenirs has also been discussed and supported by the empirical data collection.</p>

1.8 Limitations of study

The limitations of this research are detailed below:

1. Fourteen interviews with visitors to dark tourism sites were used. This has been useful in establishing motives and behaviour to darker sites which may not have resulted from a quantitative study. However, additional interviews may have further corroborated the results.
2. The consumer sample was initially selected by sending out an email to students asking them if they had visited a dark tourism site, or if any of their friends or relatives had visited such sites. Therefore those selected may not have been representative of the general population of dark tourism consumers. However, this was in part overcome via the use of a student sample and the use of a snow balling technique, ensuring that some of the problems associated with accessing such a difficult to access visitor group were alleviated.
3. Geographical range of sample: means it may not be representative of all sites.

1.9 Justification of research

The research is valid as very little empirical research exists that specifically identifies the practices of visitors to dark sites in terms of visitor behaviour associated with, on- site experience / activity, souvenir hunting, photography and subsequent archiving and storage of materials sourced from visits to dark sites. This will assist stakeholders / visitors alike as by better understanding their actions, activities, motivations and archiving process a clearer user profile will emerge, enabling planners to better provide for their user needs. In addition, the provision for educational attainment and the acquisition of knowledge for visitors will be more clearly defined along visitor partisan lines.

1.9.1 Contributions of this Research

The contribution of this study, as outlined in the recommendations are as follows:

1. The distinction between information needs of visitors to darker and lighter sites has identified that those at the lighter end require information on operational aspects such as layout and parking. In comparison those at the darker end require information more specific to increasing knowledge and understanding of issues related to the site and motives of participants / those involved in aiding such atrocities.
2. The significance of structural (generic) and situational (site specific) factors that affect behaviour at site and specifically to the collection of artefacts, has been identified. This is to say that dependent upon the type of attraction visited a tendency exist whereby visitors at light sites collect commercialised items whereas those at darker sites limit physical souvenir collection.
3. The educational requirement and differences in terms of themed content associated with those visitors at light and dark sites has been identified. This is to say that mock morbidity, performance and edutainment tends to prevail and be a requirement for those visiting lighter sites. In contrast a more theoretically rounded and academically content driven information model is required by those who visit the darker sites.
4. The manner by which souvenirs are collected and exhibited post visit has been identified. Those who visit light sites have a tendency to purchase commercialised items and show-case them post visit as an extension of their family's kinship. In contrast those who visit darker sites tend not to purchase commercialised souvenirs, but instead collect artefacts of nature; these tend not to be showcased upon return home.
5. The manner by which individuals search for site information pre, during and post visit to a dark sites has been identified. Those at lighter sites tend to use such information to plan the visit in a more operational manner, seeking information regarding car parking, toilets, access and food provision. In contrast those at darker sites tend to engage in such an information search to better understand the academic / theoretical / geo-political factors that caused history to evolve in such a manner.

1.9.2 Proposed structure of study

This thesis is divided into seven chapters, the structure of the chapters, is detailed below

1.9.3 Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter introduces the area of dark tourism, and identifies the keys area of the research that are going to be investigated. Issues associated with the definitions and evolution of dark tourism will be presented. The key role of this section is to place the subject matter under

investigation in context. Issues associated with the aim and objectives of the research will be addressed within this section. A brief review of the associated literature is appraised as is the research methodology to be employed. The context of the research is discussed as are the limitations and justification of the research.

1.9.4 Chapter Two: Literature review

This chapter will start by defining dark tourism and reviewing the literature on visitor motivations to visit dark sites. The chapter starts with a critical review of prior research on dark tourism and the various types of dark tourism genres that exist. A background section related to the wider travel motivations of tourist is discussed and then this is related specifically to dark tourism motivations. A review of the push and pull theory is discussed and the role that it plays in facilitating tourists push and pull at a destination. Push factors tend to be those factors that make us want to leave the home environment in search for travel experience (e.g. escape, excitement and adventure), in contrast pull factors tend to be destination based and encourage us to visit (e.g. beaches, parks, shopping and events) Crompton (1979). This is followed by a discussion related to the actions of tourists who engage in deviant leisure and the role that media has played in facilitating this form of leisure consumption. The chapter concludes by investigating one component of deviant leisure, that of murder mystery where tourist engage in the act of investigation, associated with unsolved murder at a destination. Finally the role played by wound culture is reviewed, in an attempt to explain such acts of deviant leisure consumption.

1.9.5 Chapter Three: Research methodology

This chapter discusses the methods employed to collect and analyse the primary data that was collected as part of this research. This section starts with an overview as to the purpose of the methodology and a review of the role of the paradigm in guiding the research. This will be

followed with a discussion of the ontological and epistemological basis of the research. Issues associated with the methodological data collection style, Means End Chain (MEC) analysis is discussed and justified, as is the thematic analysis approach using Rokeach Values. The role of the pilot study and the implications it had for the study will also be appraised. The chapter concludes with a review of how each methodological tool was employed to obtain the primary data for this research and their impact on the validity and reliability of results is evaluated.

1.9.6 Chapter Four: Results

This chapter presents the result from the fourteen interviews that were conducted with participants who had experienced one of the seven stages of darkness on Stones' (2006) dark spectrum. The results are presented in a linear style with the lighter site visits being reviewed first and the results from each of the sites being presented with the darker sites appearing last. Means End Chain (MEC) analysis is employed using thematic analysis associated with Rokeach Values Survey (RVS).

1.9.7 Chapter Five: Discussion of results

This chapter reviews the results in relation to the established theory and the research aim and objectives. A discussion of results in section one (sites one to six, lightest, lighter and light) and in section two (sites nine to fourteen, dark, darker and darkest) is reviewed. A comparative analysis of the results is undertaken with comparisons being made with the literature review. This will form the basis of the conclusion and recommendations chapter.

1.9.8 Chapter Six: Conclusion and recommendation

This chapter presents the overall conclusion in relation to the initial aim and objectives of the research. The conclusions identify how visitors to the lighter sites tend to be informed by family and loved ones with emphasis upon enjoyment and family kinship. In contrast those who visit the darker sites tended to be more interested in the educational and academic overtones associated with the site with a keen interest in history. The final section makes recommendations and suggestions for both practitioners and within the context of the wider academic community.

1.9.9 Chapter summary

This chapter has introduced the study and has justified the importance of the research with considerations of the key gaps within the wider context of dark tourism. The aim and objectives have been detailed and a brief introduction to the subject matter has been presented. The contribution of the research has been detailed. Issues associated with the research methodology have been addressed and the context of the research with limitations and justification have also been reviewed. The next chapter will review the literature that underpins this subject.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Chapter overview

This chapter has two key components to its design; firstly the chapter will start by defining dark tourism and reviewing the literature on visitor motivations to visit dark sites. The chapter will review published research on dark tourism and the various types of dark tourism genres that exist, a background section related to the wider travel motivations of tourist is discussed and then this is related specifically to dark tourism motivations. This is followed by a discussion related to the actions of tourists who engage in deviant leisure and the role that media has played in facilitating this form of leisure consumption.

This second component of this chapter will review the tourists experience of place and the manner by which tourists go about consuming the visit experience with reference to the characteristics of the tourist environment in terms of accessibility, physical constraints and facilities provision. A discussion of how tourists go about corroborating their visit by collecting souvenirs is analysed and this is then discussed more specifically in relation to the collection of souvenirs at dark tourism sites; issues associated with push and pull factors that facilitate travel are also appraised. Reference to the role that photography plays in corroborating the visit is also appraised with discussion being made of souvenir collection in the theatre of war. Finally ‘hot’ interpretation is reviewed and its on-going role in ensuring that educational provision at dark sites, no matter how diverse is appropriate and that artefacts associated with dark sites are correctly exhibited so as to ensure accuracy of information and historical context.

2.1 Introduction

The origins of the academic debate associated with dark tourism is multi-layered. From a classical perspective, dark tourism has a long history and has been described as a ‘thanatopic’ tradition dating back to the visitation of sites such as the battlefield of Waterloo and the natural disaster of Pompeii (Seaton 1996). Whilst often appearing to grow out of the morbid curiosity of death and disasters of the 19th and 20th century, dark tourism has its origins much further back in time. Indeed as early as the 11th century, individuals were visiting locations associated with the darker side of travel, with geographical entities such as Jerusalem in the Middle East and more specifically the location of Christ’s crucifixion proving to be popular venues for travelers visiting the Holy Land during the crusades, (Podoshen 2013). In more recent years, the Grand Tour proved to be an opportunity for the wealthy and curious to experience Europe and sites such as the classical ruins of the Coliseum (a death chamber) which proved to be a must see location (Cohen 2011). From a more contemporary perspective, Rojek (1993) has described the fascination for places such as the shores of the Zeebrugge disaster in 1987 and Lockerbie in 1988. The term ‘dark tourism’ was first coined by Lennon and Foley (1996) to describe the relationship between tourism attractions and an interest in death and the macabre. More recently Kidron (2013), has detailed how many of these dark tourism experiences are “an emotional encounter of violence, death, horror and pain”.

Dark attractions can be classified into a number of different types, ranging from death sites such as the assassination of JFK, the re-enactment of staged battles including the Sealed Knot Society (English Civil War) (Seaton 1996, Blom 2000) to prisons such as Alcatraz in San Francisco (Wilson 2008). Miles (2002) delineates between dark sites associated *with death* and sites *of* death, disaster and depravity. He contrasts the Auschwitz museum with the US

Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington D.C. The former is where the act of death actually occurred whereas the latter is a commemorative museum, located a significant distance away. In his analysis, Miles (2002) and more recently Barton & Brown (2012) differentiates between temporal and spatial factors. They acknowledges that the distance of the remembered event in terms of time and space influences the extent to which the attraction is darker or darkest.

From a thanatological perspective, Stone & Sharpley (2008) and more recently Stone (2012) have chosen to move away from the traditional narrative, based around supply and concentrate more specifically on the consumption of dark tourism. Their research builds upon an earlier conceptual paper by Stone (2006) which introduces a typological framework that attempts to theoretically illustrate the differing levels of dark tourism (see Table 3).

Table 3. The differing levels of dark tourism

Darkest	Darker	Dark	Light	Lighter	Lightest
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They conceptualise the differing components of dark tourism in a ‘light to dark’ framework, with the sites being placed in an almost linear style format with the commercial dark dungeons of Merlin Entertainment at one end (lightest) and at the other, those sites associated with genocide and mass extermination being defined as darkest. Arguably, a typological framework associated with the supply of dark tourism entities is too subjective and tries to compartmentalise such sites into neatly defined segments. Not only do they all appear in the main, as fee paying manifestations of private enterprise, they also display theme-like commercial characteristics associated with commemoration, education and some questionable levels of authenticity (Mowatt, & Chancellor 2011). In addition the criteria

employed to rate those which are darkest, is rarely discussed or explained (i.e. is it visitor numbers, tourist spend, death count at site, level of authenticity or gore value?). Such common philosophical observations, as made by Stone (2006) and more importantly as displayed within the light to dark framework, share commonalities with the works of Lennon and Foley (2000; 147) who suggest that many of these dark sites are ‘established institutions like cemeteries and museums’, and this is indeed a common trait shared with many of the dark attractions within Stone’s (2006) typological framework.

Stone’s (2006) conceptual framework offers the academic community a hook on which to hang its dark cloak. The study of dark tourism has greatly benefited from the creation of a light to dark spectrum, as this creates a foothold from which researchers can start and in some cases, be critical. From a supplier perspective, Stone (2006) correctly sets out in some detail the characteristics and traits associated with each of the product types. Stone (2012) also establishes a typological viewing frame through which a clearer understanding of both dark tourism and visitor motivations that facilitate its consumption can be obtained.

2.2 Travel motivations

A review of the related tourism motivations literature reveals a plethora of material that can be used to better understand the related actions of travel consumption and motivations. As a starting point the push-pull framework (Dann 1977) and more recently (Prayag & Ryan 2011) works well in detailing the motivations underpinning tourist travel behaviour. The model details how external forces can impact upon our daily lives and in turn facilitate the decision to take a holiday. The push related factors lead the consumer to select one destination or travel product over another once the decision to travel has been made (often associated with needs and wants of the traveller including escape, adventure and relaxation). Conversely pull factors are related to the features and attributes associated with the

destination, such as facilities, beaches, sun shine and weather variables to name but a few. Both push and pull factors play a key role in facilitating the travel process, albeit at two differing points in time, namely push factors pre travel often associated with where to visit, and pull factors, once the decision to travel has been made, are specifically related to where to travel and the features of the location. Dann (1981) and more recently Pesonen et al (2011) perfectly details the notion of push and pull and comments on how once a decision has been made to travel, then the next decision to follow, concerns the activities whilst at the destination. Whilst push and pull are often viewed as separate components operating independently a number of academics have been at pains to point out that this may not necessarily be the case. For example Cha et al (1995) puts forward the notion that individuals are pushed by their own need to travel and at the same time pulled by the external forces associated with the destination. Crompton (1979) notes that push factors can be used to possibly explain those factors that initially galvanise the need to take a vacation, reversely push factors might also have a directional role in subconsciously making us head towards a particular destination type. In this scenario the push factors can be described as being directional, in as much as they push individuals to take a holiday, but at the same time display some directional potential in guiding the consumer to a particular destination, adding weight to the earlier observations that push and pull are not necessarily separate components operating independently from one another (Grimm & Needham 2011).

Looking at push and pull from an individual perspective, it can be noted that people from differing demographic backgrounds can possess different push and pull motivations for visiting a particular destination. In research carried out by Jang & Wu (2006) push factors that facilitated travel within the senior traveller market related to VFR (visiting friends and relatives) and health / relaxation. In contrast major pull travel motivations for this group included hygiene and personal safety whilst at resort (You et al 2000). From a gender

perspective and in relation to pull factors associated with safety at destinations, females within the same age range as males were found to value safety at destination greater than their male counterparts (Carr 2001), (Alebaki & Iakovidou 2011).

Within the realms of push, Dann (1977) introduces the notion of anomie and ego enhancement in which both factors facilitate the creation of a fantasy environment to which the tourist periodically visits. Within this environment anomie relates to the change in the social environment where regulations associated with order are limited and where lawlessness is rampant. The characteristics of our daily lives create push factors where the desire and need to escape from the isolation and despair of our daily lives, results in pushing the individual to seek rest bite from this environment of anarchy. Interestingly whilst over 30 years old Dann's (1977) presumption that people need to escape from the trappings of everyday life, still holds some degree of relevance today where war, famine, crime, violence and insurrection impact upon peoples daily lives and facilitate the need for escape. This leads individuals to seek solstice away from their home environment, pushed by the notion of anomie. Examining the notion of ego enhancement, Dann (1977) details how this also acts as a push factor and is associated with the human need to be recognised and to feel superior. In this scenario travel is used as a mechanism for social advancement, not only can the visitor access locations where his social standing is unknown and therefore feel superior. Upon return from the vacation he or she can showboat about their holiday experience and this in turn boost their ego (Dann 2012).

In terms of those empirical studies associated with push and pull, the majority appear to be pull related, for example Hobson and Josiam (1992) research looked at motivations of students for choosing a spring break destination. The majority of responses relate to the influences of friends or of those going to the destination, other reasons related to pull factors such as weather, facilities and pricing. Similarly in Butts et al (1996) research associated with

student destination choice, found that pull factors such as accommodation, nightlife and price played a key role in facilitating the decision making process in relation to where to stay, this was also a key finding in Van der Merwe et al (2011) research.

2.3 Dark tourism motivations

Though sun, sea and sangria holidays still retain their popularity, it is acknowledged that there has been a trend towards alternative tourism experiences of cultures and histories (Robb, 2009). This has precipitated a desire to experience more obscure tourism sites and attractions, dark tourism being a feature of this. Previous studies of dark locations/shrines suggest that motivations for visitation are complex and disparate, resulting in a multitude of reasons for engagement with the macabre (Stone 2011). However, it is an under-researched field (Sharpley and Stone, 2009).

Given that motivations for consuming the dark are complex and multi-layered, the deconstruction of such phenomena is challenging. It is further acknowledged that the dark tourism experience is subjective and will vary from one individual to another including their relationship to the site (Robb, 2009). Dunkley (2005) suggests a number of motivations that might precipitate visits to dark tourism sites.

These include the following:

- Visiting sites such as cemeteries and gravesites for contemplation for possibly spiritual and retrospective purposes;
- Thrill and risk seeking in the form of visiting attractions such as the running of the bulls in Pamplona;
- Validation and the confirmation of events that may have happened such as crime, murder or disaster;
- Authenticity and the need to acknowledge the reality of a place's or person's existence;

- Self-discovery and the intrinsic desire to learn;
- Visiting iconic sites that have immortalized key events, for example assassinations (e.g. the Dakota apartments where John Lennon lived) and significant landmarks (e.g. Checkpoint Charlie in Berlin);
- Convenience when an attraction is located in a famous city (e.g. the Coliseum, Rome);
- Morbid curiosity and visiting sites where death or disaster have only recently occurred (e.g. Syria);
- Pilgrimage for religious purposes (e.g. to Mecca) or to disaster sites (e.g. Ground Zero).
- Remembrance and empathy when visiting, for example, war cemeteries or the clock tower at Old Trafford to acknowledge the Munich plane crash of 1958.

In light of these differing motivations it is important to note that the basis for grief-based tourists to visit dark sites can be driven by a “pseudo-relationship” (Stone 2009a) to the mediatization of the person and or event. Stone (2012) also appraises dark tourism from an experiential perspective, arguing that many dark sites provide an opportunity for mediation, an opportunity for those who are alive to experience and construct meaning to the afterlife. What is arguably at the heart of the dark tourism debate is the fear of death itself and also mankind’s mortality resulting in wanting to experience, albeit at arms length, some tangible components of death. “For one to pass over and experience the afterlife and return must itself be the ultimate in travel and with the absence of the authentic/here and now, a visit to a dark site, with all its manifestations of previous dark activities, arguably comes a close second to experiencing the afterlife” (Dale & Robinson 2011; 9).

In recent years, many have started to recognise the importance of dark tourism, not only at financial level but also as an educational tool. For example, the Soweto township tours have acted in part, as instruments by which generations of South Africans can better understand

the country's dark past and help to establish truth and reconciliation for the future (Rogerson, & Visser 2011). The motivations of visitors to dark sites associated with the media are disparate and varied (Tzanelli & Yar 2014). Wilbert & Hansen (1995) identified a number of commonalities associated with participants who engage in dark tours around sites associated with murder in the East End of London often promoted heavily by the media (Jack the Ripper tours, JTR, England). Data from qualitative interviews with 16 individuals (equal split of gender) suggested that many of the participants on the tour were unsure as to when and where they had first come across JTR, but the role of media in perpetuating the image of the assailant was significant for tour participants and was affective in creating preconceived ideas associated with the Ripper, including possible conspiracy theories. As one might expect, the participants also shared commonalities, in terms of visiting other Ripper tourist sites often represented in alternative London JTR tours, the London Dungeon and the Tussauds museum, all of which exhibit dark artifacts.

Dunkley et al (2011) explores dark tourism motivations for those visiting the Somme & Flanders, (First World War battlefields in France). What is particularly relevant within this piece of qualitative research, is that it shares parallels with Seaton (2000) research which also investigates the methods of transport used to visit the location (in this case, coach travel) and the possible motivations of individuals traveling together over a period of time (approximately three days, amounting to 36 hours) to visit several battlefields. A number of motivational factors were identified from this research, for example an almost community like belongingness developed, with the participants becoming a "closed, hermetic community" displaying almost pilgrimage like tendencies and whilst all thrown together, shared a common goal of discovery, common purpose and interest. Sadly neither of the aforementioned works (Dunkley 2011) or Seaton (2000) has investigated pre departure

information searches and souvenir collection at site and post souvenir exhibition, something that this research will detail.

Whilst much of the aforementioned research has, with minimal discussion of the methodology, presented the results from interviews or other methods of primary research, In Seaton's (2002) research (motivations for visiting the Somme & Flanders, with the main methods being small scale participant observation). This is a valid piece of research that places in situ, some of the methodological issues and constraints that face researchers when carrying out qualitative research in an environment where grief, loss of life and remembrance are all present. These issues include the constraints associated with traveling and interviewing a specific type of visitor, obtaining the interviewee's trust, cultural practices and nuances associated with this user type and ensuring that data collected is done in a sufficiently appropriate manner, taking account of the nature of the interviewee's emotions and the constraints associated with the human environment. The research identifies remembrance as the common motivational trait shared by the homogenous group under investigation. Seaton's (2002) research primarily investigates a group of 23 people subdivided into the following groups:

- . **S Party** = student party (12 men and women, 8 of which were under 25, 4 were mature students)
- . **R Group** = recreational (6 men and women, 2 senior females, 4 males one retired)
- . **E Group** = enthusiasts (5 males, aged 30-45)

The group visited battlefield sites in the Somme (France) and Flanders (Belgium), undertaking a 3 day conducted tour along the Western Front. Participant observation formed the main methodology and was augmented by the additional use of a questionnaire at the start of the trip (multi choice). In addition to this, a log / diary section was made available to each

participant to add comments during the trip. Key issues to emerge from the research related to the manner in which groups interact when put together over a period of time and the manner in which differing group members consume the same historical experience. Issues associated with the multi-generative nature of this kind of dark tourism, in terms of viewing the subject matter from a number of differing discursive fields (for example the military perspective, use of war technology, regimental histories and family genealogy) was also a key finding of this research. Also, issues associated with age of visitors and time spent at each gravesite / monument was also a key differentiating factor for the differing groups.

Strange & Kempa (2003) explored motivations for visiting dark sites associated with penal incarceration, with particular reference to Alcatraz (USA) & Robben Island (South Africa). They used semi-structured interviews with over 30 employees at the attractions and 1008 questionnaires distributed at Robben Island Museum showed how some of the methods of interpretation used, had themselves in some cases been informed and guided by expectations of tourists and agendas of external interest groups (gender of participants is not made clear).

The results indicate that interpretation of histories are often driven by user expectations, rather than the more mundane components of day to day history (Hartmann 2014). For example, visitor expectations perpetuate the myth that Nelson Mandela stayed incarcerated at Robben Island until his release, when he was actually moved to a mainland prison in 1984. Indeed, it can be argued that by pandering to myths, distorted realities and pre-cognitive perceptions held by the tourist pre-visit, many of these sites are becoming commercialized, pandering to the visitor and, in part, using poetic license to represent the past (McCracken 2013). The role of cinematic representation was also highlighted as a tool to aid motivation for a visit. Other motivations included remembrance, the process of healing (certainly in the

case of Robben Island) and the notion of justice being seen to have been administered as in the case of Alcatraz (Walby & Piche 2011).

Continuing on from the motivations for visiting penal institutions, Muzaini (2007) identifies a number of motivational factors that have been elicited from primary research carried out at a former WW2 Japanese prison complex, Fort Siloso, in Singapore. They conducted 113 interviews with visitors; gender breakdown not specified. The study identified a number of factors that aided visitation to the site. Not only were visitors interested in viewing components of history associated with the relics of war, they also expressed pilgrimage-like tendencies associated with viewing sites where a historical link with their own family heritage may have existed, or where previous generations of a related family may have been imprisoned (Violi 2012). Aligning Muzaini (2007) study with the previous study at Robben Island and Alcatraz (Strange & Kempa 2003), visitors to Fort Siloso made mention of the fact that, and were critical of the manipulation of, the historical content at the site and its possible modification to enhance visitor numbers and to aid its universal appeal.

Thurnell-Read's (2009) study of Auschwitz, Poland shows further the importance of remembrance at sites associated with death and highlights the importance placed by youth travelers on the notion of a modern pilgrimage to dark sites. Of particular interest is the fact that the interviewees placed much importance on the notion of an almost *grand touresq* like experience. Motivation for the visit, resulted from recommendations by friends, a must do thing whilst in Poland, whilst engaging in a youth traveler exertion. Additional motivations include those of the Jewish faith that not surprisingly relate to collective remembrance and mourning (Carter 2012, Isaac & Çakmak 2014).

The studies mentioned above suggest that a key set of motivations lies at the heart of any visitation to a dark tourist site, irrespective of geographical location, theme or user type. Indeed, motivations such as remembrance, empathy and confirmation of history were common to all sites. The role played by media, technology and personal narrative as detailed in research by Buhalis & Amaranggana (2015), Claiborne et al (2014) and Law et al (2014) has also actively intensified interest at those sites where deviant individuals have been incarcerated (Alcatraz). The use of inmates and ex-prisoners as sources of educational narrative is not uncommon (Skinner 2015) and (Zerva 2015) and has been further advocated as a mechanism to enhance education of the visitor and to aid comprehension. The role played by education has in recent years greatly facilitated visits to heritage attractions (Ottenheim & Hoogenboom 2014) and (Pallud & Straub 2014). Hein (2014) further corroborates this point and details how the role of education, at heritage sites has evolved greatly over the last fifty years, with provision geared towards full sites access (Falchikov 2013) and (Garrod 2014) further enhancing interaction and stimulation. Ironically many managers at such attractions are themselves often required to enhance certain components of history, so as to pander to visitor expectations as to what should be displayed and in what particular historical context (Carnegie 2014). Yankovska & Hannam (2014) reiterate this point and correctly detail how media and technology (often represented in video games) has influenced tour content and the tourist experience at Chernobyl (the site of a former nuclear accident, April 1986).

Whilst much of the primary research which has hitherto been carried out has examined motivations for visiting sites that have been designed to accommodate a more commercial type of dark visitor, little research has been carried out on those less formally recognized dark sites associated with death and particularly murder and in particular in a contemporary

setting. This clearly highlights a gap in the literature and an opportunity to make significant contribution.

2.4 Push and pull factors in travel

Over the past three decades much has been written about travel motivations (Todd 1999, Biran et al 2011 and Chen et al 2014). By exposing these seminal texts we can draw upon their content in an attempt to better identify motivations associated with visiting contemporary dark tourism sites. Tourism motivations can themselves be divided into a number of categories. Dann (1977) starts by suggesting the need to showcase the notion of ‘anomie’ and ‘ego enhancement’ in an attempt to better understand visitor actions and behaviour. Anomie is a sociological term that relates to “a society who’s norms governing interaction have lost their integrative force and where lawlessness and meaninglessness prevail” (Rose 1966; 29). These push factors associated with the society in which we live our humdrum, and often mundane existence, can in part explain why many of us often choose to get away from our daily socially constructed environments in exchange for something different. In contrast, ego enhancement, as the name suggests, is more associated with our personality needs and the manner by which we all seek to improve our own status and ultimately our ego (Mehmetoglu 2012). The trappings of travel, the feeling of superiority and improved image / status are all tied up in ego enhancement and are themselves pull factors that emerge from experiencing travel (Correia et al 2013).

Crompton (1979) identified ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors as motivations relating to the tourist and the destination respectively. Push is related to those factors that create the need to go on a vacation, not unlike Rose’s (1966) observations associated with the mundane trapping of everyday life, whereas pull factors are often location-specific and relate to activities / facilitates at the destination. Crompton’s research identified nine motivations which influence

the choice of a destination. The first 7 are classified as socio-psychological, these being; escape from a perceived mundane environment; exploration; evaluation of self; relaxation; prestige; enhancement of kinship relationships; facilitation of social interaction. Finally the last 2: novelty and education, were classed under the alternate cultural category. From an external perspective the role of the family (a push factor) should not be underestimated as its presence makes up much of consumer base of many tourist resorts (Obrador 2011). The role of the family as a push factor plays a key role within the supporting literature and can be detailed in studies associated with the decision to travel (Bronner & de Hoog 2008) and (Gram 2007), the role of the family as a development of society (Carr 2011 and Shaw et al 2008), thirdly from historical perspective (Rugh 2008) and (Walton 2000) and finally the role of the family in picture and image (Hallman & Benbow 2007). All of which detail the multi-natured role of the family as a push factor and the many dimension of the family unit that are impacted upon by decision making, social factors, history and the recording of the family unit in celluloid.

Other attempts to investigate motivations for travel include Iso-Ahola's (1982) work. He employed the notion of seeking to escape as a key motivational factor in travel and like Crompton (1979), Pearce (1996) identifies intrinsic and extrinsic factors that motivate individuals to travel. Gray (1970) employs the term sunlust (travel associated with experiencing the traditional sun, sea and sand) and wanderlust (travel associated with experiencing cultures, places and historical entities), both of which display pull-like characteristics. Indeed, it can be noted that wanderlust tendencies are present in those who actively participate and consume heritage tours (Heitmann & Robinson 2011).

Push-pull theory is a useful mechanism to examine the differing factors that influence an individual to visit a particular destination and the subsequent push and pull factors that facilitate this. Whilst much of the past research has used push and pull in relation to the more

traditional holiday vacation types, push and pull can also be used to better explain those factors that facilitate the need to visit dark tourism sites (Norman 2011). Push and pull provides us with a relatively simple overview as to the motivations for travel and whilst not the only motivations for travel they provide us with a usable platform and starting point from which one can debate further. In terms of those push factors that facilitate visits to dark sites these include, a better understanding of the history associated with an event. Some visit for personal reasons to commemorate loved ones or their own personal experience of war (e.g. battle sites) (Bigley et al 2010), some visit to affirm cultural and religious identity (e.g. religious sites) (Collins-Kreiner 2010) and finally some visit out of morbid curiosity (Cheal & Griffin 2013). Other factors include enhancement of relationships, support, kinship and belonging / togetherness, (Cohen et al 2015, Jung et al 2015, Tie et al 2015 and Wilson 2014) all of which can be described as push factors. Interestingly in research carried out by Krakover (2005) young people cited curiosity as the main push travel motivation for visiting dark sites associated with atrocity. In contrast dark sites also have the power to pull visitors with the allure of education, reminiscence and remembrance; this is certainly the case at any Holocaust related museums where remnants of a bygone evil political regime are showcased for all to see.

Dark tourism differentiates itself greatly from other forms of tourism or leisure travel, in many cases this is due to its negative connotations associated with death. Seaton & Lennon (2004) detail how dark tourism motivations are linked firstly to *schadenfreude*, this is the fascination and pleasure associated with viewing the misfortunes of others (Biran & Poria 2014) and secondly with *thanatopsis*, which is associated with the contemplation of death through visits to such sites (Buda & McIntosh 2013). Whilst the motivations for visiting dark sites have been briefly touched upon in the earlier paragraph, Seaton & Lennon (2004) note that dark tourism is not a major motivation for travel or a major consumption activity at

resort, but in fact a component part of a trip (business or pleasure) with the main purpose in satisfying human curiosity in death (Timothy 2011). Curiosity itself is a key push travel motivation associated with dark tourism. Crompton (1979) details how curiosity is associated with novelty, a search for a unique experience that facilitates the destination selection and subsequently to experience the attraction at destination. Curiosity is also associated with the many hidden facets associated with death and destruction that's pushes individuals to travel to such sites and pulls the curious from around the globe to dark locations (Strange & Kempa 2003). Running parallel to this; the role of the media must not be understated (Seaton & Lennon 2004) as news reports and increased internet availability has acted as a push factor to those sites that become overnight sensations as tourist attractions for the curiously macabre (Smith 1998). Looking at natural disasters such as floods, tsunamis and tornados all of which act as pull factors attracting the curious tourist to see at first hand the destructive elements of nature. Mayo & Jarvis (1981) argue that as human beings we are all born with a sense of curiosity and an insatiable appetite to explore the world, this level of curiosity can diminish as we become older or when motivations associated with push and pull change.

Heritage tourism can itself be drawn upon in an attempt to better explain the motivations of individuals who visit sites associated with dark history (Hartmann 2014). Furthermore, many dark sites are themselves components of heritage (Jamal & Lelo 2011), be this traditional or contemporary heritage. In the heritage arena, many authors have highlighted the importance associated with the study of motivations as a key component to aid the preservation of heritage sites (McCain & Ray 2003). Silberg (1995) and Moscardo (1996) have discussed the motivations of tourists in the context of heritage sites with specific reference to methods of on-site interpretation being used to aid sustainability and limit the impacts of large visitor numbers. Silberg (1995) identifies tourist motivations through a sustainability spectrum, and argues that the preservation of any heritage site, lies very much in the marketing of the site

and this can, in turn, effect the actions of visitors and motivations for the visit. Ashworth (2001) concluded that tourists / visitors are themselves motivated by a multitude of differing factors. Many of these studies are themselves based upon non-primary methods, instead choosing to employ the more conceptual / non-empirical approach (Ashworth 2001; Timothy 1997). Many of these studies have investigated ‘why’ individuals visit such heritage environments; and found that education and learning and the attributes of the site such as location were important as was the manner by which emotions and feelings were developed through personal methods of interpretation, including conversation and storytelling (Mossberg et al 2014) and (Pera (2014). Following on, the literature also suggests that in conjunction with ‘the individual’, factors associated with propensity to learn and an associated interest in leisure, are themselves key motives for heritage space consumption. Kerstetter et al (2001) debate this further and acknowledge several possible motives with visiting heritage sites. These include wanting to learn, a need to experience the authentic (elements), historic characters, an interest in heritage, culture / ethnicity and visiting other sites in close vicinity (Su & Lin 2014). One might ponder that the same could possibly be said regarding those individuals who visit contemporary dark tourism sites. Moscardo’s (1996) model also identifies educational motives, in addition to entertainment motives and social motives as being key determinants for visitation at constructed heritage settings and anecdotal evidence suggests that this is not so different from constructed dark tourism sites. In addition to the aforementioned literature sources, it is interesting to note that several studies have identified patterns associated with visiting heritage sites. These patterns suggest that tourists will consume peripheral heritage attractions during the same period of time in which they are visiting a specific key location / site (McNamara & Prideaux, 2011). For example, motives for a tourist to engage with restaurants (Josiam et al 2004), religious sites (Murray & Graham 1997) and mines (Prentice et al 1998) indicate that alternative

motivations exist as pertinent to heritage tourism. In other words the key visit (to a heritage site) might be part of larger heritage tour / trail in which restaurants, water fronts, old mines and building associated with antiquities influence the visit. It would therefore seem reasonable to expect that motivation to visit dark tourism sites would be as complex and consequently more complex than previous dark tourism studies would suggest (McDonald 2011).

The heritage tourism literature also suggests that the importance of personal meaning associated with place, site or location should not be underestimated. Uzzell & Ballantyne (1998; 80) states that “residents of local communities may have different reasons for visiting a site located in their area”. Moreover Lowenthal (1985; 45) contends that “the same space may have different meaning for different generations”. Indeed, he proposes that over a period of time a site e.g. a battlefield might move through a time continuum, being firstly a site to pay respect to the fallen dead and over time becoming a day trip location. This is certainly true of some of the more classical dark tourism heritage sites. In the case of the Coliseum, Pompeii and battle sites of the first world war, they were initially viewed out of reverence

In conclusion, whilst the study of heritage sites and the motivations associated with visits to such places have been covered both empirically and conceptually, the same cannot necessarily be said regarding dark sites (Stone 2011). More importantly whilst heritage site investigation shows certain practices associated with consumption at site, the same cannot be said regarding the consumption patterns of individuals at contemporary dark tourism sites. Research associated with the former (heritage sites) nevertheless gives us something to foothold our research into: the actions of individuals who visit contemporary dark tourism sites and the actions whilst on site and post visit behaviour.

2.5 Leisure and deviance

The next part of this chapter will discuss the broader issues associated with leisure consumption in an attempt to identify those reasons why individuals visit dark tourism sites.

Leisure pursuits that have been defined as strange or unusual have been recorded extensively throughout history (Forsyth & Bryant 2012). Activities such as bear baiting, fox hunting and cock fighting have all come to symbolise acts of deviant leisure consumption (Gunn & Caissie 2006). Cross (1990) makes mention of such activities within the context of a civilised Western society as being ‘immoral and cruel’, but still active consumption of such pastimes continues (certainly in the case of fox hunting, dog fights and unlicensed bare knuckle fist fights, albeit illegal). Looking further back in history, blood sports have themselves been popular throughout Europe from the 1600s onwards. Pursuits such as boxing (which at the time permitted eye gouging), hen throwing (involving the use of projectiles being employed in an attempt to kill the hen; for sport) and ratting (dogs being employed in the sport of rat killing in which bets were placed on the ability of the dog to catch and subsequently kill a set number of rats within a given period of time, for sport rather than for rodent reduction). Such activities paint a very disturbing picture of leisure consumption during this period (Forsyth & Copes 2014). Moving forward several hundred years, Horna (1994) alludes to the continued enjoyment of deviant leisure in the more contemporary periods of the 20th and 21st century, where illegal gambling, hunting and shooting (of wild animals), prostitution, illicit drug use and active consumption and involvement with pornography continue.

Whilst traditional leisure activities have received much coverage in the contemporary literature, the same cannot necessarily be said regarding the more deviant leisure activities within contemporary society. Rojek (2000) correctly points out that leisure is generally

associated with positive actions, activities post work, a reward for hard work, or even a social conditioning tool employed by the state to ensure control (Foucault & Miskowiec 1986). Leisure within the academic arena also tends to reinforce the mantra that leisure consumption tends to be a positive experience and that anything of a deviant nature or even illegal, tends to sit more comfortably with the sociology or criminology academic community (Gunn & Caissie 2006). Rojek (1999) has been at pains to note that the leisure community do themselves a disservice by not recognising the non-traditional, deviant forms of leisure as a fundamental part of the leisure ethos. Equally, one can argue that within the doctrine of Western culture, leisure is often characterised as a form of remuneration for work, a period of time and space where the individual can be free from the daily shackles of everyday life constraints (Stebbins 2011). Finally, the benefits derived from regular leisure consumption (as opposed to deviant leisure consumption) are themselves multifaceted and include well-being of society, relaxation, personal development, maturity, kinship, education and cultural diversity to name but a few (Leitner & Leitner 2012). Aligned next to this, the notion that leisure can be consumed for immoral / deviant reasons is in itself abhorrent to many. Rojek (1999) encapsulates this perfectly and notes that some individuals actively seek out and engage in deviant forms of leisure; this to many, including some within the leisure, community is objectionable (Wearing et al 2013).

2.6 Cinematography and deviant recreation

From a social media perspective, deviant recreational pastimes / leisure are themselves becoming more and more commercialised, certainly in terms of media representation of deviant leisure practices (Uriely et al 2011). This is to say that components of popular culture including deviant leisure (football hooliganism, inner city violence and murder) are increasingly being disseminated through film, TV, printed literature and internet sources in an

attempt to feed society's insatiable appetite for such leisure genres. Television programmes that appear to be endorsing deviant forms of leisure include the crime fiction genre that in many cases glamorises the darker side of leisure (Lea 2014). Take for example films such as *Kill Bill*, *Silence of the Lambs*, *Seven* and *Summer of Sam*, all of which have a dark content associated with violence and serial murder. This style almost advocates violence and fantasy as a normal leisure experience. Rojek (1999; 81) perfectly sums this up as "packaging of deviant leisure to consumers in entertaining and amusing forms". Jenkins (1994) further underpins Rojek's comments and argues that through the many layers of media, the actions of those who engage in deviant leisure are in some ways condoned and in extreme conditions some are made icons of film. Jenkins (1994; 2) states "the serial killer has become an American original, a romantic icon, like a cowboy", a contemporary example of this would include the character of Hannibal Lector (played by Anthony Hopkins in *Silence of the Lambs*) and a more classical example would be *The Bird Man of Alcatraz* depicting the life of prisoner Robert Stroud (played by Burt Lancaster). Both films depict these characters as icons and the reality of their actions as depicted in celluloid are often forgotten. In the case of the bird man of Alcatraz, Robert Stroud is portrayed as the victim, a bad man who becomes good whilst incarcerated at the infamous US prison of Alcatraz. The reality is that Robert Stroud never actually kept birds at Alcatraz and was a thoroughly evil individual both inside and outside of prison. In many cases through such media representations, the purveyor of violence often becomes the hero and their actions / modus operandi of performance become their stock-in-trade.

Within the academic forum of study, leisure is often celebrated as a wholesome pastime, that aids kinship, social wellbeing and physical health (Torkildsen 2005, and more recently Roberts 2011). Interestingly enough, whilst normal leisure activities are perceived as good, those who partake in deviant leisure (be this physically or passively) may also think of such

activities as a normal use of their free leisure time (Stebbins 1997). Those deviant leisure activities are, as stated earlier, not discussed in mainstream leisure literature and tend to be the purvey of the criminologists, psychologist, sociologist and forensic scientists. Paradoxically, many within the academic leisure community have yet to fully investigate deviant leisure practices within society; a starting point for this is some kind of definition of deviant leisure and its characteristics.

From an external perspective, deviant leisure is often associated with illegal activities that are in some cases tolerated in society. Examples might include the viewing of pornography (Shaw 1999), sex tourism (Oppermann 1998), violence and drug abuse (Leonard 1998), and non-licensed gambling (Leonard 1998). Stebbins (1997) states that many of these pursuits are defined as “tolerable deviance”. However, whilst many in society do tolerate such activities, they would not partake in their consumption (Veal et al 2012).

Horna (1994) has identified a dearth of literature and a lack of agreement about a definition of deviant leisure. Kelly & Freysinger (2000; 30) further recognise the lack of consensus with definition, but state that deviant leisure is “leisure, that is deemed negative”. Earlier, Curtis (1988) had used the following terminology in an attempt to define the characteristics and actions of deviant leisure pastimes; these include ‘crude’, ‘greed’, ‘immoral’, ‘repugnant’ and ‘grossly self-indulgent’ activities. Curtis (1988) expands his discussion further and makes mention of ‘purple leisure’, which are activities engaged in by adults (including youth) post work commitments (or in the absence of work) that are characteristically detrimental / damaging in the eyes of society and a real waste of leisure time. Curtis further illustrates his argument with the Curtis scale, a linear like model which details numerically good acts at one end of the scale (examples include acts of benevolence, charity work and religious

celebration) and at the other end of the scale (as detailed by the prefix of a minus sign) acts of torture and murder, deemed as most wicked and bad.

Rojek (2000) also attempts to define deviant acts of leisure and raises issues associated with a lack of duty of care for third parties, where careless leisure acts can have detrimental consequences for bystanders, or where the individual refuses to afford reverence / respect to another. Rojek (1999) defines deviant leisure in a tri-part manner and refers to 'invasive leisure', 'mephitic leisure' and 'wild leisure'. Invasive leisure is characterised by a reluctance to engage with society and an inability to engage with people, which results in isolation. Examples include substance abuse or possible over reliance upon certain practices that are all consuming of the individual and their life (computer games might be a modern equivalent of this where the individual becomes totally engrossed in a virtual environment and is unable to differentiate between reality and fantasy). Mephitic leisure is associated with individuals who perceive others as being merely titillation, where injury, obliteration or even murder of third parties is acceptable. Finally, wild leisure involves the collection of souvenirs, recordings (be these visual or audio), items of value or even anatomical trophies from individuals. Wild leisure employs extreme cruelty, an opportunistic leisure activity, akin to the actions of Alex and his wayward associates in Stanley Kubrick's cinematographic production of *A Clockwork Orange*.

The leisure literature is littered with more traditional definitions of leisure, but even here the notion of individual preference and personal choice is prominent (Tribe 2011, Arrow 2012). Russell (2002; 211) is quick to acknowledge that preference for leisure is that of choice over social acceptability, this is to say that individual preference for leisure is based around individual perception: "leisure in the mind of the beholder is a matter of private feeling and

not social responsibility”. He also recognises the juxtaposition that exists between leisure existing as an enhancer and facilitator of physical and social wellbeing and the darker deviant nature of leisure as a facilitator of the moral decline of society. Indeed, whilst leisure has the potential to enhance and facilitate social wellbeing and has been covered extensively within the traditional academic arena; it can be further argued that the darker, more deviant edges of leisure consumption need investigation, in greater detail (Stenseng et al 2011).

2.7 Murder mystery

Still within the confines of deviant leisure, the consumption of dark tourism has evolved much over recent years. One such niche area that has characteristics of deviant leisure and has yet to be fully discussed in the literature, is that associated with visiting murder sites. This genre of dark tourism, exploits a popular fascination for people to explore the circumstances surrounding premeditated death, namely the act of murder itself and the concept of the cold case review. Over recent years the media has been responsible for creating interest in areas related to detection and crime solving which would normally have fallen under the media radar. The constant appeal of detective programmes on television demonstrates the interest that people have in understanding the mystery of crime. Indeed, the success of shows such as *Crimewatch*, *Cold Case*, *Cracker*, *Sensing Murder*, *CSI (Crime Scene Investigation)* and *Criminal Minds*, has fuelled the appetite for this kind of subject matter. Whilst it is acknowledged that the portrayal of crime in such programmes is increasingly sensationalised and has blurred the boundary between fantasy and reality, the media coverage has never the less increased consumer exposure, awareness and fascination with murder and its investigation.

One such philosophical viewpoint that has attempted to address the lesser researched areas of dark tourism, is that of Gibson (2006). His discussion of the relationship between serial murder and the American tourism industry is seminal; in so much as it correctly identifies the juxtaposition that exists between the negative ramifications of serial murders in a geographical setting / population and the huge interest often expressed by visiting tourists. This resulted in high demand for traditional hospitality services such as board, lodging, souvenirs and photo opportunities. Acts of murder at sites in many geographical locations can have disastrous consequences on the tourism sector. People became withdrawn, reluctant to travel or in a worst case scenario, call off any planned vacation activities. However, such negative events can act as a catalyst for unplanned commercial / money making ventures for the business savvy and unethical entrepreneur who offers services for those willing to engage in this form of dark voyeurism either during or post the terrible event. Examples include Praia da Luz Portugal, site of the Madeline McCann abduction, Soham in the UK, site of the abduction and eventual murder of Jessica Chapman & Holly Wells, and Hyde in UK where Dr Harold Shipman committed numerous acts of serial murder on patients in his care. Such cases have themselves been documented in contemporary history and have been played out extensively within the world's media, all of which probably contribute towards creating demand. In the case of Madeleine McCann, tours of the surrounding locality where she was abducted from, the apartment where the family were staying at the time of the abduction, and the restaurants at which Kate and Gerry McCann (and friends) were dining during the night of the abduction have all been incorporated in a tour (Watts 2008).

Gibson (2006; 50) discusses the phenomena of serial killers in the context of United States and comments that "serial murder has become more frequent in recent years and offenders tend to kill a large number of victims". Gibson (2006) goes on to appraise the notion of dark

tourism and thanatourism (terms that he uses interchangeably) with reference to traditional manifestations of such sites including cemeteries, churchyards and war sites. This classification of such sites is much akin to that detailed by Stone (2006) in his conceptual light to dark framework. Gibson (2006) also notes that in the same way that certain genres of dark tourism have resulted in increased interest within the academic community, the same can also be said in relation to those individuals who choose to visit locations associated with serial murder. The main commonality here, and a general consensus held by a number of academics with the dark tourism field, is that death attracts spectators and locations associated with serial murder are in no way different (Mowatt & Chancellor 2011, Kong 2012, Weber & Sultana 2013).

2.8 Wound culture theory

Continuing on from the notion of contemporary murder sites as possible stable mates with the more traditional forms of dark tourism, Gibson (2006) attempts to re-engineer his observations by interlacing other lines of investigation in an attempt to better explain the fascination held on the part of society with death and destruction. One such theoretical construct that is used by Gibson to conceptualise this phenomena is Seltzer's (1998), 'wound culture theory'. Wound culture theory works on the premise that violence within society has become a key component of modernity. This often manifests itself within those scenes played out at a road accident: the rubber necking actions of individuals passing the scene of a motor accident; the public's insatiable appetite with viewing; "collective gatherings around shock, trauma and the wound" (Seltzer 1998; 55). Such a notion might, in part, explain the motivations and actions displayed by those consumers who visit the darker parameters of Stone's (2006) model.

Continuing further into Seltzer's (1998) wound culture theory, it can be noted that the human psyche often hides a desire to be shocked and actively seeks out the physical manifestations of wounds; this can be physically and metaphorically, and might go some way to explain society's growing interest in reality TV, a format in which wound culture is developed for all to see (Nunn 2013). The potential link between sites associated with murder and the visiting tourist, is that they offer opportunities for consumers to connect with possible wound appreciation; this possibly shares some commonalities with *schadenfreude* (pleasure derived from the misfortunes of others). Tapping into the tourist motivations for experiencing more authentic and real situations, the continuing fascination with visiting contemporary dark tourism sites, the on-site actions of visitors and the post visit archiving offer a new and interesting research opportunity.

2.9 The tourist experience of place

No review of the dark tourism literature with particular emphasis on the dark tourist experience would be complete without a review of those factors associated with the tourist's experience of place. This section will review the tourist's experience of place, with a discussion of the actions of tourists and the activities that they engage with whilst at sites. The literature under discussion in this section is a key area of the research that underpins this thesis and reviews issues associated with the tourist experience of place, the uniqueness of the experience, souvenir collection and how the tourist goes about recording the visit; it also provides a possible explanation for these actions.

Places that attract visitors utilise a combination of visual identity and uniqueness in an attempt to create demand (Human 2009, Lin et al 2011 and Ruzzier & De Chernatony 2013). Such qualities are often present at places where history plays a role in attracting visitors (e.g.

Chester, York and London), often manifesting in characteristics of building design (e.g. Blenheim Palace, Oxford), spatial environment (e.g. Lake District) and uniqueness associated with history (e.g. London). The characteristics of place are also impacted upon by its size, numbers in the host population and seasonality, the latter of which has implications for yield management and revenue opportunities. The image and identity of place are key factors that are often bigger than the place itself (Zimmerbauer 2011). Take for example New York City, whilst its physical characteristics in the form of buildings are to be praised, these alone would not be sufficient to attract any large scale tourist numbers, but with the addition of social enhancers the City become alive. Urry (1995) expresses the importance of social and physical characteristics as facilitators of place and (Hayden 1995; 75) stresses ‘that places are more than just the creation of architects and their clients’. The cumulative nature of place is also enhanced by history. Benjamin (1979) draws reference to place, as being a depository for people’s memories and with this, the physical entities of infrastructure can themselves re-invigorate our memories of the past. The identity of place can in some cases take on a quasi-mystical quality and this scenario is played out at night in the East End of London, where would-be murder mystery sleuths take part in Jack the Ripper Tours. Durrell (1969; 24) states ‘the important determinant of any culture is after all-the spirit of place’, Darrell’s comment show how place and its characteristics can impact greatly on the wider sub-culture of a locality.

Looking at the wider macro tourist environment, Pearce (1982; 36) states ‘the tourist environment, has high transient populations, and structure to control visitor accessibility’. Indeed, one might note that these factors share some degree of commonality with dark environments, where levels of control and accessibility are evident. Take for example the Somme (France) where through non personal methods of interpretation (e.g. signage and self-

guided trails) visitor access is controlled, in a linear like manner; ensuring that areas of high sensitivity in terms of environmental degradation and unexploded ordnance are off limits. Another example where public access is controlled is that of Althorp House where Princess Diana lived as a child. Whilst access to the house and its grounds are allowed, the island on the estate where Diana is buried is out of bounds to all visitors. Whilst visits to Althorp House are varied, some of those who visit have commonalities with other visitors and it can be argued that a bond like relationship develops between the visitor and place against the backdrop of the Princess Diana story. Ryan (1991) makes reference to the development of feelings associated with place, where feelings held by the visitors have a shared degree of commonality. By this we mean the actions of the visitor whilst at site and their pre-visit expectations. This is borne out in a number of studies including Shilling & Mellor (1998) & Stone (2009; 63) who states 'the emotional experiences of these assembled social groups allow individuals to interact on the basis of shared ideas and concepts'. In the context of World Trade Centre (WTC) Visitor Centre (Ground Zero), shared interests relate to the collective loss of life of all those who died and those who lost loved ones. In addition, a collective loss of confidence prevails; whereby the one time utopian capitalist dream associated with freedom and democracy (as in the case of the USA), now lies in tatters. The space afforded to the visitor (in this case the WTC Visitor Centre), allows for a tangible memorial for the deceased of 911 and also provides a forum for collective grief, a vessel through which emotions can be expressed. The term 'collective effervescence'; as detailed by Shilling & Mellor (1998; 196) works well in describing a process whereby which the collective meeting of individuals, under the umbrella of shared beliefs, allows the members to become familiar with a specific tragic event and share, debate and discuss the event and its ramifications. Thus the gathering of such groups has implications for the individual, as Durkheim (2001; 302) states 'just by being collective, these ceremonies raise the vital tone of

the group, thus they are reassured, they take heart and subjectively it is as though the rite really has repelled the dreaded danger'. In the case of the WTC Visitor Centre, individuals are allowed to display their collective opinions in a specific room where 'the shared nature of individual opinion is united' (Durkheim 2001; 88). The true nature of shared grief is clearly displayed here.

During the experience of place the visitor might seek to establish some kind of rapport with those he or she meets (Bødker & Browning 2012). In the context of the dark environment, attempts at establishing relationships with likeminded visitors might not be so explicitly displayed, but surely the need to interact with likeminded visitors is a necessity of visit (Pearce 2011). Indeed, for many the location of consumption presents opportunities for the establishment of relationships, both with likeminded visitors and possibly with locals. The insights often gained from mingling with the host population can enhance the visit, with snippets of information, urban myths, folklore and stories not normally available to the pedestrian visitor, being showered upon the ever inquisitive sightseer. Not only are the actions of tourists affected by such conversations (with host communities and locals) they can also be influenced by the geographical entity (in which the tourist finds themselves). Often a location will itself direct and facilitate the actions of the visitor. The geographical location, infrastructure provision, information points, local customs, legal constraints and environmental factors will all, to a certain extent, inform the visitor as to the *modus operandi* of the visit (Gelbman & Maoz 2012). Such is the case in Auschwitz, Poland where the oppressive environmental conditions both tangible (building, watchtowers, railway, 1940s military signage) and intangible (feeling of desolation, despair and loss of life) can inform and direct the on- site behavioural manner of visitors. Other examples where the actions of the tourist are controlled include Arlington National Cemetery USA, where signage clearly

informs the tourist as to what protocol must be observed (silence and respect), the USS Arizona Memorial Museum Pearl Harbour where access is limited to 150 people at a time and where display material advocates reverence and respect for those who perished in the vicinity. Also time constraints at site / place of interest can also have a direct impact upon the manner and actions of the tourist. In this case the eager tourist might be keen to fully understand, learn and explore the contours of the site, resulting in a state of mind that is calm and enquiring. Compare this with the actions of the frustrated tourist at place, where access is limited, visitor provision is lacking and where perceived service is poor, surely then the behavioural characteristics of the visitor are modified by place (Ringer 2013).

In terms of the actions of tourists, limited empirical research exists in relation to the precise experiences of visitors at dark sites, including heritage sites (Beeho & Prentice 1995). Whilst theory exists, little attempt has been made to connect the conceptual with the empirical (Caton & Santos 2007). Indeed, much of the established literature is more associated with economic influences (Taylor et al 1993), classification of heritage tourists (Chandler & Costello 2002), motivations for site visit (Poria et al 2003), operational guidance for site managers and service specifications (Apostolakis et al 2005) and to a lesser extent the political affairs associated with site development (Jeong & Santos 2004). At the other end of the continuum and represented far less in the literature is the experience at site. In many cases where research has taken place in relation to experience of place it has been predominately associated with family kinship, historical legacy associated with ancestry, personal family history and Nostalgia (Poria et al 2003, Dunkley 2011 and Weaver 2011).

Davis (1973) and Yeh et al (2012) have argued that nostalgia can in part be used to explain individual's fascination with the past and could itself explain dark site visitation. Nostalgia is

associated with remembering the past, in some cases filtering these memories into selected highlights of a period of time when life was better. In many cases juxtaposition exists where the past has manifestations of light, a safe place where life was better and happier; in comparison with the present which is more akin to moments of despair, unhappiness, danger and moral decline. We can now further argue that if nostalgia is driven by a socially constructed view of the great yesteryear, against the negative backdrop of the present; then 'reverse nostalgia' (a term developed by the author to describe the human process by which the past is not always viewed as being great, in comparison with the present) does offer hope and opportunity. Reverse nostalgia might in some way explain the actions associated with visiting dark sites. By experiencing the site and all its manifestations of dark, one can debate that the present is good, in comparison with sites where murder, destruction and persecution at one time reigned supreme. Auschwitz might be the archetype for this.

Scholars including Hewison (1987), Dann (1994) and more recently AlSayyad (2013) have been critical of the growth in heritage on the back of nostalgia. The utilisation of imagery and clever marketing campaigns has worked well in correcting the perceived imbalance with society today, in exchange for a past when all was well. Nostalgiazation is discussed by Vasy & Dimanche (2003) and it works on the premise that the past was a simple romantic place and at the same time omits the more difficult day to day realities of life in the past. This one world view distorts the realities of the past, presenting history within a particular context with no space for alternative historical narratives. Dann (1994) and more recently Bandyopadhyay (2012) shows much disregard for the employment of nostalgia in the development and promotion of heritage. Indeed, whilst he accepts the importance of heritage sites, he is critical of the way in which such sites often pander to what the tourist wants to see (cash registers at the ready) rather than what is reality. This is strange as all heritage sites are custodians of

cultural legacies (to a greater or lesser extent) and the visitor should be active in shaping this experience. This might in some way explain the actions of dark tourists, who choose to visit sites where explanation is limited and commercialisation has yet to be fully exploited, or where interpretation is left to the imagination of the visitor.

From an empirical perspective and in the context of nostalgia, only a little research exists and this tends to be in the realm of heritage site experiences. In their study of heritage parks, Prentice et al (1998) investigate the experiences and benefits associated with visiting industrial heritage sites. The study, based at the former Lewis Merthyr Colliery (Rhondda Heritage Park), involved structured interviews with 403 visitors on site (39.7% holiday tourists, 4% non leisure, 56.3% day visitors. The large majority (75.7%), were from non-manual households of which 21.1% held an honours degree and 10.9% held a higher degree. As starting points 32.8% were aged 35-44, 20.8% were aged 45-54 and other ages were not specified). The results of the mining heritage park interviews showed that the majority of visitors had diverse reasons for their visit, but for many, issues associated with local history were key to the visit (55.3% of visitors had local connections with the area, the additional 32.3% had links with the Rhondda area and 12.4% had links with other local mining areas). Visitors with children (45%) emphasised the importance of informing their children of the past. Other reasons for visiting with children included a place where children could be engaged during the holiday period (25 %). Finally (30%) emphasised the importance of visiting together and sharing available time whilst in a social family unit.

A further part of this research investigated the dimensions of visitor experience whilst on site. This was obtained from the earlier structured interviews that were reduced to a number of opinion statements (8 in total), asking respondents to rate their agreement or disagreement

(strongly agree to strongly disagree). Issues associated with a keen sense of grief / sadness for the miners family and a recognition of the dangers experienced by the miners on a daily basis ranked high in the minds of the visiting public (60.9% and 69% respectively, strongly agreed) and the frequency by which the visitors felt these emotions during the visit was high. Other issues associated with the experience felt by visitors which were strongly agreed upon included appreciating their own quality of life today (52.5%), a high degree of respect for the engineering achievements of the period (31.1%), and finally feeling nostalgic about the past (16.4%). This interestingly reinforces the importance of individual's own perception of life today as being good, (52.5% strongly agreed, appreciating their quality of life today) with issues associated with nostalgia for the past being scored the lowest of all 8 opinion statements (16.4%).

It is interesting to note that the findings associated with Prentice et al (1998) research tend to suggest that a number of complex factors are at play and that the role of nostalgia plays a minor role in relation to the motivations for visiting the former Lewis Merthyr Colliery (Rhondda Heritage Park). From a thematic perspective, it would appear from the study that key reasons for visiting the Rhondda Heritage Park relate to a better appreciation and understanding of the time period in which the colliery operated the characteristics of family life during this period and related hardships associated with day to day living. Indeed, post the visit many were mindful of and commented upon having gained a better appreciation of the late 1800s and early 1900s and that the present (i.e. today) was infinitely better than life in the past. Issues associated with spending time with friends and family proved to be important in the aforementioned study and such issues are further corroborated in earlier research carried out by Masberg & Silverman (1996); this will be discussed next.

Masberg & Silverman's (1996) research is qualitative in nature, with the purpose of investigating individual experiences associated with heritage tourism in the United States of America (USA). The research employed a number of open ended questions (developed through a series of interviews, resulting in 5 key questions). These were related to the visitor's definition of a heritage site, a discussion of the last heritage site that they had visited, the location of site, a description of the visit and finally what the visitor got from the visit. A total of 60 students were interviewed aged 18-38 (the majority being 18-25). Gender was not specified and is a possible criticism of the study. The results in relation to the first theme (visitors definition of a heritage site) implied reference to heritage as history and culture. The second and third themes (last heritage site visited and location of site) were mainly related to sites visited in the US. The fourth theme (description of the visit) emphasised the importance of family and friends and finally, what they got from the visit related to increased knowledge of the encompassing area. Whilst the results from Masberg & Silverman's (1996) research don't tell us in what volume the interviewees responded (or even gender), what is clear from this study and Prentice et al's (1998) research is that the motivations for visiting heritage sites tend to be associated with a better understanding, appreciation of and learning of history, spending time with family and friends and enjoying the locality / environment in which the attraction was placed. Finally, a single motivation for a visit might be hard to identify and the preconceived notion that nostalgia plays a key role in facilitating every visit is hard to substantiate (Leong et al 2015).

2.9.1 Souvenirs

The collection of trinkets in the form of souvenirs is synonymous with the tourism industry and it can be noted that the psyche behind collecting such tangible reminders of travel experiences / visit to a destination is varied. Souvenirs are themselves available in many differing variations, from the mass produced kitsch like items from the Spanish Costas such

as sombreros, stuffed donkeys and related paraphernalia to non-commercially manufactured products associated with place, often sourced from the local environment in which visitors find themselves. Kim & Jang (2014) detail souvenir collection as a method to aid the memory of the experience; Larsen (2014) details the importance of photo taking as a component of souvenir collection that better enables the visitor to aid their own understanding of the location. Such photographs can themselves greatly impact upon the mood of the individual taking the picture, resulting in much excitement with the photographer often imaging themselves in situ, (Miles 2014) or even resulting in a feeling of sorrow, (Webbers 2015). In terms of the physical souvenir (often represented in brochure format) this would be employed as part aid memoire and part artefact, often signed or autographed by those at site who are deemed to be informed (often a guide or former inmate, as in the case of Alcatraz (Maaiah & Masadeh 2015 & Yablon (2014).

As tourists engage more and more with travel, they, in turn, look for mementos to remind them of their journey. Graburn (1989: 136) refers to this act of travel as a “sacred journey” and adds that the need to bring back keepsakes is sacred to the time or space in which the experience was framed. Others including Littrell et al (1994) and Swanson & Horridge (2004) have associated the collection of souvenirs with the purpose of aiding memory of the encounter and to confirm it. Zauberman et al (2009) refers to *strategic memory protection* and it works on the premise that the souvenir acts as a physical reminder and in some cases a protectorate of that memory of a specific time or event (in this case that memory might be of a memorable holiday). Zauberman et al’s (2009) research looked at 5 studies associated with the manner in which individuals make decisions about experiences over a specific time period and the way in which these experiences are protected. Study 4 is of particular interest to this subject area and attempts to test the notion of memory protection through the

acquisition of tangible items (cue reminders / souvenirs) after a special event or experience. Using UG students from the University of North Carolina (128), participants were asked to imagine travelling to a resort with friends. The first group (special experience) imagined that the weather had been average (mixed days with sunshine and rain) spending good days on the beach and bad days inside having in-depth conversations. The second group (non-special experience), worked with a scenario in which the weather was very good and most days were spent on the beach. Both groups were asked about the type of souvenir they would purchase on the last day of the holiday; this could be either traditional (wooden sculpture) or a music CD associated with their favourite music or band. Participants were asked to rate the trip using a Likert scale to assess how easily they would remember the trip (Likert scale 1-11, 11 being very positive). Secondly, participants were asked to rank reasons for buying the sculpture or CD, in terms of remembering the vacation (Likert scale 1-11, 11 being very positive). The results showed that those individuals in the special experience grouping rated the vacation as a more meaningful experience than those in the non-special experience group. Individuals also rated the holiday as having increased memorability in the special experience grouping as opposed to those in the non-special experience group. In relation to buying the gift, the 2 way ANOVA test showed that those within the non-special experience group were more interested in purchasing a CD of their favourite band as opposed to the sculpture associated specifically with the resort / place. Those in the special experience group were more interested in purchasing a sculpture that reminded them of the resort / place ($M = 6.85$ v $M = 5.41$; $F(1,124) = 3.75$, $p=.055$). In this case the importance of the sculpture was helpful in providing a cue to aid the memory of the trip. The extent to which the CD as a memory cue of the holiday experience, did not differ greatly in comparison between the non-special and the special experience group ($M = 6.71$ v $M = 7.34$; $F(1,124) < 1$). The results of study (4) show that individuals have a high preference for the collection / purchase of items that can be

used a later period in time to remember a suitably memorable experience and would abstain from collecting these items when the experience was not special.

The souvenir often acts as a reminder associated with time, a tangible commodity associated with an intangible experience (Swanson & Horridge 2004). Gordon's (1986) conceptual classification of souvenirs underpins this perfectly and uses 5 typologies including pictorial image, piece-of-the-rock, symbolic shorthand, markers, and local products. (1) *pictorial image* classification (e.g., picture related to a location, such as a postcard) would be sent to a third party by the tourist or may even be kept by the tourist themselves in the absence of a camera. (2) *piece-of-the-rock* classification represents an item gathered from the natural environment often to contrast the difference between the rural and urban environment (items might include rocks, shells and tree bark). (3) *symbolic shorthand* classification are man-made items that often remind the owner of the location or environment from which they originated (e.g. miniature Eiffel Tower, leaning tower of Pisa or even San Francisco bridge in a snow globe). They are often described as being purposeful, enabling a souvenir associated with an event or experience to be used in conjunction with everyday life (e.g. the souvenir bottle opener, cork screw or kitchen apron sourced from a particular location). (4) *markers* classification (e.g., T-shirts) are often detailed with words or numbers that pre date them to a particular period in time or location or both (e.g. Woodstock 69) (5) *locality* classification are foods and clothing manufactured from materials locally sourced.

In comparison, Littrell et al (1993) identifies 4 tourist types associated with souvenir collection. These are 'ethnic, arts, and people type; history and parks type; urban entertainment type; and active outdoor' type. Ethnic, arts, and people type are often motivated to travel for educational development reasons, with souvenirs purchased akin to jewellery and antiques. History and parks type are motivated to travel to experience history or

natural environments, with purchases related to crafts, postcards, books associated with the locality and items chosen for collection and memorabilia, (remembrance and contemplation was a key factor that motivated this group to buy certain souvenirs). Urban entertainment-oriented type were motivated by an active lifestyle whilst travelling and therefore any mementos purchased were often associated with activities and often manifested themselves in T-shirts or other keepsakes that symbolised the location experience. Finally the active outdoor-oriented type, as one would imagine included tourists who are motivated by the outdoor life. Indeed, whilst the aforementioned two theoretical models Gordon's (1986) & Littrell et al. (1994) are separated chronologically, it is clear to see that reasons for souvenir collection have not changed greatly within this period. In terms of souvenir classification types, we can identify commonalities in terms of those methodologies employed by the tourist in an attempt to aid remembrance. Take for example the importance placed upon visual enforcers associated with clothing / apparel, where the experience of place and the semiotics associated with this experience are displayed at eye level, often embroidered on an item of clothing. In Gordon's (1986) classification this is represented in both classifications of *markers and locality*, where clothing products are often used to reinforce the visit through hand stitched or printed logos associated with a location. This is also present in Littrell et al (1993) classification urban entertainment orientated tourist types, who place much emphasis upon sourcing T-shirts that symbolise the experience at location, or where food items, akin to a region are sourced, to later be consumed, possibly in the company of others (as detailed in Gordon's 1986 *locality* classification). Issues associated with the historical context of the visit can be noted in Gordon's (1986) classification of *pictorial image*; indeed this shares some commonalities with Littrell et al (1994) classification of *history and parks* type. In these two cases emphasis is placed upon the importance of the role of the *pictorial image*. In Gordon's (1986) case, the postcard represents convenience in the absence of a camera, a way

by which the visit can be recorded, or as potential to enhance ones own image, as proof of visit, which is in turn sent to a third party. In the case of Littrell et al (1994) *history and parks type*, the postcard takes on a more historical role associated with collection, a dated memento associated with remembrance and contemplation.

In terms remembering the tourist's experience or visit, this often manifests itself in an artefact of nature or where locals have manufactured a specific product to be purchased by the tourist. In Littrell et al's (1994) classification this is represented in user types associated with *ethnic, arts, and people*, where education associated with the visit is of key importance and where the visit is made tangible with the collection of jewellery and related antiques, for perusal and appreciation post visit. Looking further at Littrell et al's (1994) *ethnic, arts, and people type*, this certainly has some overtones of Gordon's (1986) *piece-of-the-rock* and *symbolic shorthand* classification; albeit in the context of natural items being collected to remember a visit, or with natural items being manufactured into everyday purposeful items. Such items might have an ethnic slant to their design, such as the corkscrew as in Gordon's (1986) symbolic shorthand category, which might be manufactured from a natural item such as a tree, sourced from a native setting / location, as detailed in Gordon's 1986, *piece of rock* category. In conclusion, whilst Littrell et al (1994) classification is more specifically associated with consumer types, some association is made between the travel motivations of tourists and souvenir type collection. By comparison Gordon's (1986) classification does not necessarily make this link and is itself based upon a more conceptual design, rather than that of Littrell et al (1994) which has been informed by empirical research.

2.9.2 Dark tourism souvenir collection

Aligned next to the dark tourism debate and the notion of visitor behaviour on site, are the issues associated with the psyche attached with souvenir collecting. Indeed, the tourism

literature is littered with references to acts of souvenir hunting and trophy collection (Henderson, 2000; Hutnyk, 2000; Swanson, 2004; Gibson, 2006 and more recently Harrison 2012). Such acts are in no way new; indeed, early history and the crusades refer to the search for biblical artifacts, such as items associated with crucifixion. For example, the sword of destiny, the alleged sword that pierced Christ whilst on the cross and was claimed to give its holder absolute power in battle, was actively searched for (admittedly for its alleged powers rather than a trinket of travel) during this period. The Grand tour was possibly the early gap year (or three) for the wealthy in search of those artifacts of travel engagement that could be procured and brought back to the ancestral seat for post travel admiration. A further example of souvenir hunting is the Maharaja and Viceroy of India who actively engaged in ritual hunting, killing and display of animals for pleasure and photography (Hiro 2013).

More recently, Thomas Cook offered trips to the battle of Waterloo (only days after the end of battle) and unscrupulous entrepreneurs have offered viewings for the early dark tourist visiting sites associated with the murders of Jack The Ripper (JTR), with individuals in some case physically removing items. Other, more contemporary, examples range from the desecration of Jim Morrison's grave in Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris (out of respect of course), to the theft of items from the bodies that had been blown out of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie in 1988. Such examples of souvenir hunting or wanton acts of theft are themselves up for debate and the justification for and reasons behind such acts, either for remembrance, profit making, personal reasons or fetishisation is central to this study.

2.9.3 Photography, collecting images at destination

Continuing the discussion with souvenir collection, the seminal work of MacCannell (1976) can go some way in explaining the reason behind such actions and is best described in his sacredness theory. This works on the premise that normal work experience (normal-profane)

and the leisure experience (abnormal-sacred) exist together. By employing travel, this allows the individual to move between the two, experiencing the leisure experience whilst away from the normal work existence of everyday life (the normal-profane). Interestingly, tourists cannot stay in the leisure/sacred environment forever (understandably so), but the souvenir acquisition can in-part enable the tourist to hold on to a tangible part of the sacred leisure experience.

If we are to look further into the notion of souvenir collection, the term ‘Kitsch’ emerges. This word is often used to describe physical items that appear as being poor quality, garish and even ‘in bad taste’ (Calinescu, 1987). Often associated with the mass produced consumer cultures of the 1960s and 1970s, Kitsch has, in recent years, seen an increase in popularity and far from being the epitome of 70’s bad taste; its presence has been defined as must have artefacts of cultural cool. The kitschification of society is often promoted by the media, and sees items, often presented as ornaments, souvenirs or pictorial displays that were at one time deemed as being garish and inappropriate, but are now celebrated for their cultural freshness and retrospective chic. For example, the ornamental flying ducks that at one time adorned Hilda Ogden’s dining room wall in the 1970s TV series *Coronation Street*. Such items of porcelain ornamental ware are now very much in vogue; albeit in the context of kitsch and we can also add that where items of collection are available to the general public, then the potential for kitschification is ever present. The dark arena is not immune from this. Sharpley & Stone (2009; 35) state that ‘Kitsch goods may be inexpensive, they are intended to suggest richness in both style and design and can in themselves often engage individuals in a kitsch form of sentimentality and materiality’. Indeed, within the context of dark tourism, kitschification is ever present in those souvenirs that can be purchased at such sites. Sturken (2007) makes mention of Ground Zero and the manner in which kitsch manifests itself within

those items available to purchase with the purpose of remembrance and commemoration (items include hats, items of clothing and even snow globes). Sturken (2007; 20) poignantly states ‘in the context of memory and loss, kitsch can often play a much more complex role than the mass culture critique of kitsch allows for’. By this Sturken (2007) recognises the importance that individuals place on items of kitsch and their role as ‘touchstones of memory’ (Morgan and Prichard 2005). The notion that a commercially manufactured item, often with no real significance to the location of historical period that it is attempting to represent, can on its own project meaning and emotion is itself probably a by-product of the rise of an industrial society (Kidner 2012). This is to say that with social development and increased urbanisation, the need to engage with the past and possibly escape from the present is possibly one reason for the mass appeal and resurgence in all things kitsch in nature.

2.9.4 Photography and dark tourism

Photography, the act of taking still pictures, is practised regularly at tourist sites to such an extent that the tourist and camera are often synonymous with the wider tourism industry. According to Wagstaff (2008) the location or place where tourism is consumed can be defined as being socially produced. By this the social and historical manner in which the site is developed or designed often acts as a template for the manner in which it should be consumed. For example, the social production of a site where historical subject matter is on display or where commemoration of a particular historical event is prevalent, would involve stakeholders from a number of differing committees. The physical planning, development of site and contents should all be informed by designers, curators, architects, user / civil groups, professional clients, sponsors and religious forums in an attempt to create the most appropriate setting for such a site. Low (2000; 127) refers to the social production of such sites as illustrated by ‘the historical emergence and political / economic formation of a specific material setting’, this in turn guides its development.

Debating the social development and consumption of place, one needs to mention the multifaceted manner by which individuals record and in turn add their own meaning to a specific place. Coleman and Crang (2002) note that the tourist and their actions of taking pictures enables them to modify space and place to suit their own understanding and social construct of a particular place. So a picture of a geographical land mass may be of particular relevance when we better appreciate the symbolism of the area and its relevance to family members who may have lost loved ones in battle, in that area. Coleman and Crang (2002; 11) add 'tourist photographs are a key visual and material technology deployed in a process of recollecting and socially circulating memories by the tourist and narratives of the visit experience and sites visited after the return home'. This point is taken up by Wagstaff (2007) with issues associated with oral narratives being employed post site visit to add weight to the picture or to put the subject matter in context. This it can be argued further that this adds to the viewers understanding and dynamics of the location. This second hand approach whereby the picture is displayed and narrated by a third party is an example of 'prosthetic memory', where the image is detailed and in some cases embellished by the word of mouth (Hirsch 1997). By comparison, 'heteropathic memory association' is the memory type associated with the viewer of a picture wishing that they were in the picture or participating in the picture in some way. Many who view the picture in this manner often feel that they should be present in the picture with somebody close to the picture viewer who is possibly no longer around (Hibbert et al 2013).

Whilst many of the empirical studies associated with dark matter have chosen to employ quantitative data collection methods, one such piece of research that has chosen a qualitative approach is that Wagstaff (2008) in her research at Ground Zero. Wagstaff (2008) research

primarily looked at the manner by which tourist document and experience this particular site associated with death. Using the former site of the World Trade Centre (WTC) (Manhattan USA) 536 informal conversations / semi structured interviews were recorded with visitors in the close vicinity of the WTC. Each conversation was either recorded by audio means or written format, with each conversation lasting between 15 minutes to an hour, with tourists predominately from the USA, aged 18 or over (a small number of tourists, exact number not specified were from Argentina, Bosnia, Canada, Italy, Japan, Spain and the UK). Participants were from diverse occupational backgrounds including teachers, retired people, students, skilled workers, manual workers and professionals (numbers and gender not specified). Wagstaff's (2008) research was primarily concerned with the manner whereby which photographs are used post visit.

The results from the interviews can be divided into two key sections; firstly the subsequent visits to the WTC and through the medium of the photograph did in some cases make visitors reconsider the role of the US in the Middle East and the on-going war in Afghanistan. 'One participant from Ohio, initially a staunch supporter of US military actions, continually rethought her position on the war while preparing photos of her WTC visit for a scrapbook' (Wagstaff 2008; 92). Other interviews echoed similar sentiments with some individuals expressing heteropathic like responses after viewing pictures of those missing at WTC site (often displayed on a flyer or makeshift notice board) or those who have died subsequently in military action. In one such case a female interviewee talks about taking a photograph of a photograph in which the person in the photograph looked remarkably like a friend's son. Issues associated with the human cost of war, sacrifice and death played heavy on the interviewee and the thought of her friend losing her son was continually on her mind. Indeed, this is an example of a heteropathic response in which an individual who has viewed a

picture, places oneself in the position of those family and friends who have lost loved ones during 911 or in the post 911 war on terror.

The second section of results, in Wagstaff's (2008) research tended to be grouped and associated with the role of the photograph as a souvenir to aid narration and storytelling. Whilst the role of a digital camera was a common format to present and view a picture, the majority of interviewees commented the importance of the physical picture for display and viewing on a regular basis. The utilisation of the physical photograph (as opposed to the digital equivalent) enabled narratives to be better shaped and played a critical role within individual's own community forum in creating prosthetic memories of the WTC location, in their everyday lives. In a number of cases interviewees stated the importance of creating scrap books of the WTC visit, made up from flyers, photographs and related mementos. These scrap books would form the backbone of the social fabric of the community and would often be handed around, passed from one collective of friends to another, or from one group of work colleagues to another. This greatly facilitated storytelling and the development of real life experiences from those who had visited the WTC location. Scrapbooks appeared to be one of the most popular presentations formats usually created by females and would in some cases come to symbolise an equivalent to the family photo album and would often be presented at family gatherings to share the social travel experience (Josyph 2012). The scrap book would often act as a form of personal art history not unlike the slide show of yesteryear in an attempt to tangibilise the visit, with narrative summaries key to the photograph or scrap book of the WTC visit. This second hand testimony fits appropriately with prosthetic memories, with the use of witnessing by others, via the medium of the scrapbook for those who have not yet visited or experienced the site.

The scrapbook also contributed towards events outside the home; in one case an interviewee presented her visit to the WTC and the created scrapbook to a group of elementary school children where she worked. Interestingly the interviewee also passed comment on how the photographs and scrapbook had in some cases acted as a vessel for peace, often pacifying those ardent advocates of a military response in light of 911, to one which was more conciliatory and possibly 'changed some minds, maybe for the better' (Wagstaff 2008; 94).

Interestingly, other areas that did not fall into the aforementioned two sections include the mood change associated with WTC from a place where war and retribution against the common enemy was all encompassing and validated, approved and actively exported (albeit in an attempt to gain vengeance against those who perpetrated the action of 911) to a place now more akin to empathy, remembrance and less associated with war and retribution.

Finally Wagstaff's (2008) study is important as it raises a number of interesting points as to the manner by which individuals photograph, document, archive and subsequently act post visit. In her conclusion, Wagstaff notes that had she not herself become familiar with the actions of tourists (as a result of the qualitative research) she would have thought dismissive of the actions of those tourists who engaged in photography and souvenir collection as such sites. Instead, through meeting, communicating and sharing souvenirs with visitors, a better understanding emerged on behalf of the interviewer as to the motivations of such visitors. Additionally, through the use of picture's visitors to the WTC are continually reinventing their visits through the medium of film and have themselves borne witness to the WTC spectacle by being there. From interviews carried out on-site other issues emerged including the meaning associated with the site and the multiple meanings applied by visitors who photographed related WTC locations. Here a form of communicative culture emerged that was

shared post the visit with friends and associates. This generation of knowledge and experiences created by the tourists also had a spatial and temporal dimension to it, which often emerged post visit and was shared often thousands of miles away. Interestingly, Osborne's (2000) observations have parallels with Wagstaff's (2008) and comment on the travel activities of tourists and their photographic engagements. The notion of leaving a presence at a particular site and the transformation of oneself and the site visited is debated by both authors and clearly underpins the earlier work of Coleman and Crang (2002). This being that tourists give diverse meaning to sites by taking photographs and subsequently adding their own contextualisation through post site consumption, often with third parties (Short 2011).

2.9.5 Souvenirs, war and the macabre

The collection of body parts as souvenirs that corroborate a visit or experience is discussed at some length within the field of forensic anthropology (Graburn 1989 & Harrison 2006). The collection of war relics including human body parts has been actively engaged in by combatants over the centuries, but two significant conflicts of the 20th century (Pacific War, World War 2 (WW2) and the Vietnam War) give us an insight as to the motivations for the collection of such souvenirs and trophies. This section will particularly make reference to the battles of WW2 based in the Pacific. The collection of body parts, collected post battle was rife during the military campaigns of the Pacific, during World War 2. Whilst such actions were not encouraged by the US military it was still commonplace and was widely reported in both the US and Japanese press at the time (Aldrich 2005).

If we are to look back in history, the collection of body parts as souvenirs is not uncommon. During the nineteenth century, both British and German soldiers routinely took body parts of African insurgents during times of conflict in Southern and Eastern Africa. Aligned next to

this, the colonial pastime associated with big game hunting acted as a symbolic reinforcement of masculinity and to an equal extent a declaration of supremacy over a geographical landmass and its inhabitants (Ritvo 1987). A fundamental difference here is that the taking of human and animal body parts during the African conflicts, was more often based around class. With the more upwardly mobile Officer type engaging in such pastimes. In contrast the conflicts of the 20th century (specifically the campaigns in the Pacific in WW2) show none of this class divide, with individuals engaging in such actions, irrespective of class, ethnic or social status (Harrison 2000 and more recently Kozol 2012).

From a historical perspective tribes have hunted humans and kept souvenirs of battle. The Mundurucu tribes of Brazil, the Iban tribe of Borneo and Marind-Anim tribes of New Guinea all actively participated in killing for sport and battle, seeking out their victims and collecting trophies of kill. In many cases these actions took on expedition like characteristics, with the tribes travelling thousands of miles, with rituals associated with journey as important as the kill itself (McKinley 1976). The analogy can be drawn here with the actions of the pilgrim and the modern day tourist, this being the manner by which the tribes people would bring home the relics of visit or battle, often as human body parts, presented to extended family to corroborate the journey / battle and to reinforce masculinity (Graburn 1989). In many of these tribal societies, hunting for survival was commonplace with the need to harvest food stocks as key to the survival of the collective group. Whilst the hunting of humans was not directly linked to the survival of the group in terms of food collection, it did reinforce the collective strength of the tribe, certainly in image. This was further reinforced by human artefacts and trophies of war. In the Pacific campaigns of WW2, a more sinister method was at play that employed the metaphor of hunting a hugely popular pastime in America. In the

early 1940s approximately one quarter of American men engaged in recreational hunting for sport, this experience was further played out in the theatre of war (Herman 2001).

During the Pacific campaigns of WW2, amongst American troops the collection of human body parts as souvenirs was commonplace, this was itself widespread and often viewed as a rite of military passage. As some have suggested (e.g. Harrison 2012), a form of radicalisation propagated by the authorities (namely the US military) existed. This is to say that during the Pacific campaigns the taking of human trophies was often defined by racist overtones, with the Japanese being depicted as inhuman, brutish, rabid and uncivilised (Fussell 1988). Against this backdrop, historians (Dower 1986 & Johnson 2000) have argued that the dehumanisation of the enemy gave the combatants, namely US military personnel, carte blanche to do what they wanted during and post battle, in terms of collecting artefacts of remembrance. This was also reinforced by US recruitment literature of the period employing images and icons of mid-west, rural America, hunting and the depiction of the Japanese soldier as some kind of animal to be hunted. Against the backdrop of the nineteenth century stereotypical image of the 'wild west' and the spirit of adventure, hunting secured its place in the American psyche and with it the expectation to hunt in war was realised. Terminology like 'rack up another one' and 'open season for Japs' (Dower 2012; 89-90) were commonplace in American recruitment literature during the early 1940s.

Interestingly enough, whilst hatred of the enemy was commonplace in the Pacific, the same degree of hostility was not directed at Italian or German military combatants. Indeed, whilst the enemy state was hated, the people / nation from which the soldiers originated were not and the notion of the German or Italian soldier as the enemy was also tinged with humanness (Spector 1984). Hynes (1998) comments that he has never been made aware of an act of

mutilation being carried out by American personnel on German or Italian war dead, during WW2. Whilst items such as badges, clothing and weapons were taken from dead German or Italian soldiers, the need to own the body, mutilate it or disfigure it in any way appears not to have been present. This was not the case for Japanese soldiers (Matthews 2013).

Whilst the battlefield conditions of war, in particular the Pacific war, made savages of many soldiers, this by itself was not necessarily a contributing factor to the practice of bone collecting (Dower 2012). Indeed, many of the bone related artefacts appear not to have been collected during or immediately after battles, but post the event by expeditionary forces happening by chance on dead Japanese soldiers. Many soldiers made wearable items of jewellery out of teeth removed from dead Japanese soldiers, but the large majority took to collecting such items as gifts to present to loved ones, as a symbol of their love upon return. As strange as this practice sounds, the American 1940s press is littered with references to American service personnel sending such items to loved ones. Examples include articles in the Baltimore press (1943) regarding a mother trying to obtain permission from the relevant authorities for her son to send her the ear from a dead Japanese soldier, and in Life Magazine (1944) entitled 'war worker writes to military boyfriend and thanks him for the Jap skull he sent her'. Finally, a letter opener presented to President Roosevelt in 1944, was made from a Japanese soldiers arm. From an external perspective, no real evidence exists that any of these military personnel were suffering under the stresses of war / combat fatigue whilst collecting such trophies / souvenirs (Harrison 2012). Indeed a more plausible explanation is that they were seeking to collect tangible items to present to loved ones as expressions of kinship to the family and the wider nation. Whilst some did profit from the sales of such souvenirs upon return home, the majority appear to have cherished and become attached to their anatomical

curio; it also appears that many such curios were presented as genuine symbols of love for family members (including children), friends, associates or work colleagues.

The collection of body parts as souvenirs seems to represent the extreme end of the continuum, but as history shows, the looting of dead bodies for non-anatomical items was a commonly accepted practice of war. The taking of items / possessions of live prisoners / dead soldiers, often referred to as fieldstripping (Sledge 1981), was routine throughout the ages with soldiers often bartering with such items for other luxuries not readily available in the theatre of war such as tobacco and alcohol. Whilst Sledge (1981) emphasises the financial benefits for military personnel associated with fieldstripping, he concludes by emphasising that the main motivation was often ritual in nature, based on the notion that a dead body was owned by the captor and that looting of the body and mutilation of the enemy dead was a 'part of military behaviour since the beginning of war' (Hynes 1998; 29). A general underlying theme in the collection of such souvenirs is the notion of ownership - a ritual whereby which the colonial victor in some way not only slays the beast, but also holds control over it even after life has been fully extinguished (Henry 2011). This is reinforced by the acquisition of souvenirs in the form of body parts (Scheper-Hughes & Wacquant 2002).

2.9.6 Hot interpretation and dark tourism

The notion of hot interpretation was developed by Uzzell in 1989, to better describe the experience at heritage sites by visitors. In contrast the more traditional and detached methods of interpretation (cool for want of a better word) tended to advocate an experience that was void of passion, where the experience was somewhat detached and where the stimulation of feelings and emotions in relation to the subject matter presented are limited. Hot interpretation advocates a stance whereby the stimulation of emotions facilitates memories and enhances the visitors experience and so in turn facilitates understanding and appreciation of the attraction. Uzzell & Ballantyne (1998) argue that interpretation should not viewed in isolation and that heritage sites should not be viewed in isolation as being either hot (interesting and stimulating) or cold (detached and objective), but merely an opportunity to involve and develop the visitors beliefs, memories, opinions and arouse their emotions so as to enhance the visiting experience.

The notion that interpretation should stimulate interest is not particularly new, as early as 1957, Tilden was advocating the benefits of good interpretation techniques “interpretation as an educational activity should aim to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by first-hand experience and by illustrative media, rather than by simply communicating factual information” Tilden (1957;8). Tilden (1957;9) goes on to further add that “the chief aim of interpretation is not instruction but provocation”. Against the backdrop of such sentiments Uzzell & Ballantyne (1998) discuss those factors that influence visitor engagement with heritage, these are time, distance, experiencing places, degree of abstraction and management, each of which will now be discussed in greater detail.

Firstly time has long since been associated with heritage and interpretation. Uzzell (1989) uses three chronological examples dated 50, 80 and 100 years ago, the first one relates to the massacre of French citizen in May 1944 in the village of Oradour-Sur-Glane, near Limoges (640 people were killed and village destroyed). After the war it was decided not to rebuild the village but to keep it as a permanent monument as a reminder of the terrible loss of life. Interpretation is present at the site with a small museum and the use of guides who detail the history of the village during each tour, whilst the atrocity is still present in the immediate history, its change from location of remembrance to day trip destination is clear to see.

The second example that Uzzell & Ballantyne (1998) use to underpin the impact of time on interpretation consumption relates to the interpretation of the First World War (over eighty years ago). A number of such museums have been criticised as many detail the role of technology as opposed to the terrible loss of life of millions. Uzzell & Ballantyne (1998) argue that as time moves on we may become more willing to ignore the issues associated with mass death and treat them as events that are unrelated to our country.

The third example associated with the impact of time of heritage consumption relates to Clifford Tower in York, where in the 1400s a form of ethnic cleansing took place with the Jewish population of York taking refuge in the Tower as a result of an anti-semitic riot taking place in the locality. The majority of Jews either committed suicide or were slaughtered. At no part in the interpretation of Cliffords Tower does the literature or signage make mention in detail of this terrible pogrom, but instead chooses to discuss the changing role of the tower over the years, its building process and design and former inhabitants (some mention has now since been made of the terrible events by English Heritage) . In this case time has possibly chosen not so much to forget is terrible past, but instead not detail its past in sufficient detail.

Secondly the experience of place is associated with the manner by which we respond to a location emotionally during the visit. This itself is specific to each individual, but certain events such as the funeral of Princess Diana and the subsequent weeks after her death, resulted in a collective experience of place for those individuals watching via television or present at the funeral itself. Whilst the atmosphere associated with experiencing place is different for each individual, one could argue that certain locations have a pre-set level, often associated with its past. Locations such as Oradour –Sur-Glane in France and Auschwitz clearly have an atmosphere based around the atrocities committed there and interpretation is used to inform the visitor of the specific events that occurred. But what of those sites which have been traditionally associated with a long time past event, which has recently experienced another traumatic event at site. This was exactly the case at Port Arthur Historic Site in Tasmania, Australia where convicts were shipped to from Britain during the mid to late 1800s. Tourists can visit the cells of the prisoners, engage in a ghost tour and visit the Island of the Dead where the dead prisoners were placed to rest. All of which created a certain atmosphere associated with penal retribution and punishment and as a result of which the interpreters could relatively easily develop mechanisms to inform the visitor of such events. This all came tumbling down when in 1996 an individual male armed with a gun entered the site and began randomly and indiscriminately shooting visitors. This was Australia's worst massacre in recent years and result in the death of over 35 people. This as one can imagine had a huge impact on the locality and the Port Arthur site, how would the site now be remembered and interpreted. Whilst the atmosphere associated with penal incarceration and its interpretation was fairly easy to accommodate how now would the site be interpreted and what would the experience of place now be like. Of interest here is the manner by which recent events engage and stimulate our emotions and the manner by which those responsible for interpreting history go about doing it.

Other related issues that can impact upon our emotional response to interpretation and the experience of place, is the manner by which the level of abstraction of the heritage site under consideration. For example the Cold War underpins this notion perfectly, with the relationship between time and emotional association being developed further. The Cold War differs in many ways from other more traditional forms of war, where a battlefield or location was used by two or more opposing armies in an attempt to win strategic supremacy. In the case of the Cold War a physical battleground was often hard to define, issues associated with political ideologies tended to be the armaments and whilst potential loss of life was clear to see (albeit delivered in a end of the world scenario), the physical manifestations of loss of life were often hard to see, unlike traditional battlegrounds where bodies would often litter the landscape. Added to the previous comments it can also be noted that traditional sites associated with the Cold War (e.g. bunkers, strategic command post, nuclear bases and military installations) tended not to be associated with physical loss of life. So unlike the Somme where many soldiers lost their lives, many of the sites associated with the Cold War are more associated with what could have happened rather than in reality what actually did. In terms of mass death, this is often hard to substantiate with sites associated with the Cold War being more associated with control, logistics and management of the process of attack in the event of all out war, that said sites such as the Berlin Wall have seen death albeit on a relatively small scale in comparison with traditional wars.

Another factor that impacts on individual emotional association with heritage and place and shares a relationship with both time and abstraction (as discussed earlier) is physical distance. This is to say that both physical and psychological distance that we share with global events in our society can in turn heighten or curb ones own emotional response or perspective of a particular issue. The physical distance that we share with other individuals at the events in

their geographical environments may see emotional response and empathy to their plight increased or diminished, dependent upon distance. How should those tasked with interpreting such events respond, a hot approach to interpretation would attempt to engage visitors with emphasis upon emotion and feelings, in part trying to better enhance the visitors understanding and appreciation of terrorism (as related to the earlier example of the troubles in Northern Ireland). Also and possibly the lesser discussed issues associated with people becoming terrorists and the possible neo-colonial political histories that led to the partition of the island of Ireland, the subsequent issues associated with discrimination and civil right, and the ensuing political divide down a sectarian divide resulting in the troubles. This then surely is hot interpretation, passionate, confrontational and provocative rather than just instructional.

Issues associated with management of media can have an impact upon interpretation of place. The role of media can impact greatly upon place, whilst the written word is a powerful medium, the use of first person interpretative media including re-enactment and in some cases role play surely triumphs in terms of delivery, stimulating interest and creating the wow factor. The use of the written word often presented in diaries, reports and postcards sent home by third parties does give us a feel for the era in which it is presented, but the use of historical re-enactments and first person interpretation surely triumphs ever time. What needs to be considered at this point is the manner by which people based interpretation at this level moulds and dictates the viewers emotions. In the case of the war film our emotions can be modified dependent upon the style in which it is made. For example in the case of *Born on the Fourth of July* (Tom Cruise circa 1990), this is primarily an anti-war film, highlighting the futility of war and the loss of youth and our emotions are affected accordingly. Contrast this with *The Battle of Britain*, which is not pro-war, but is a celebration of what Churchill referred to as our finest hour. Those responsible for the interpretation and management of

such war relics including battlefields are faced with two possible problems, Firstly the requirement to inform the visitor of the background and narrative of the events, including technical specifications associated with technical and logistical issues of the battle, but also encapsulate the human side of the terrible events, so as to ensure that the tale is told as accurate as possible. By this we also include the horrors of wars, the terrible loss of life, the orphaning of children and the loss of loved ones. This is often watered down as managers of such sites need to walk a tightrope between the need to tell the story as accurate as possible and at the same time entertain, attract, encourage repeat visits, ensure visitor spend and facilitate merchandising. These two aims may not sit well together (the need to tell and the need to sell), so managers may choose the easier option, not wanting to offend or trouble the visitor, resulting in at worst little or no emotional response from the visitor and at best an emotional response in relation to what has been viewed that is all but forgotten post the visit.

Whilst hot interpretation has been discussed in relation to dark subject matter, it can equally be used for any subject matter where a strong emotional response exists and where managers are tasked with interpreting hot subject matter. Issues such as the environment, racism, equal opportunities, discrimination, class, welfare and education lend themselves to hot interpretation (McKinnon2014). What is of key importance to hot interpretation and place is the manner by which it is employed, not as a shock tactic to scare and repulse, but as a means to encourage debate, interest and stimulate discussion. Likewise interpreters are happy to accept those accolades associated with providing a stimulating and worthwhile educational experience, but should also expect to be provided with a powerful, thought provoking and emotional experience. In contrast it can be argued that if hot interpretation is used incorrectly, it can result in a biased perspective being attributed to certain contentious subject matter. Hot interpretation should present the differing perspective on global issues and encourage

individuals to not only question the truth but also explore differing perspective and understandings / beliefs on the same subject matter (Nelson 2015).

. Hot interpretation by design recognises that all truth is questionable and highly subjective, surely by not fully exploiting the hotness of the subject matter under discussion we choose to be passive custodians of history. Hot interpretation has mass benefits for society and those communities that make up the place environment. Such an instrument should aid community cohesion rather than attempt to divide it. Finally hot interpretation needs to be considered in greater detail at dark tourism sites in an attempt to better the visitors understanding of history and also challenge previous assumptions held by visitors. In an attempt to enhance the visitors experience at site, hot interpretation offers management the opportunity to enhance the overall visitor experience and further aid the educational dynamics associated with place.

2.9.7 The gaps in the literature

The literature review has highlighted a number of gaps on visitor motivations and behaviour pre, during and post visiting a dark tourism site. The main perceived gaps in the literature are summarized in Table 4 below. The gaps will be used as the focus of the primary data collection which is both exploratory and explanatory. The gaps have also been used to help determine the research aims of the study. (see Table 4).

Table 4. Gaps in the literature

Literature source	Gap in the literature	Implications for this study
Sharpley & Stone (2009), Stone & Sharpley, (2008).	1. Whilst much of the primary research which has hitherto been carried out has examined motivations for visiting sites that have been designed to accommodate a more commercial type of dark visitor. Little research has been carried out on those less formally recognized dark sites associated with death and in particular in a contemporary setting.	This highlights a gap in the literature and an opportunity to make significant contribution. This has influenced the research, as the sites chosen are themselves on the whole non-commercial enterprises or have little of the commercial trappings of the formally managed dark sites. Gap = The main gap here is the under researching of the motivations to visit such informal sites and the activities, pre, during and post visit in terms of archiving.
Stone, P.R. (2006, Robb (2009)	2. Given that motivations for consuming the dark are complex and multi-layered, the deconstruction of such phenomena is challenging. It is further acknowledged that the dark tourism experience is subjective and will vary from one individual to another including their relationship to the site	This highlights a gap in the literature in relation to the differing motivations for visiting different dark sites. Gap = The main gap here is the manner by which individuals visit sites and their personal relationship with site, that in turn facilitates the propensity to travel.
Beeho & Prentice (1995), Stone, P. (2012).	3. Whilst the study of heritage sites and the motivations associated with visits to such places have been covered both empirically and conceptually, the same cannot necessarily be said regarding dark sites. More importantly whilst heritage site investigation shows certain practices associated with consumption at site, the same cannot be said regarding the consumption patterns of individuals at contemporary dark tourism sites.	This highlights a gap in the literature in relation to the specific consumption practices of visitors at differing contemporary dark sites. With this in mind the author interviewed individuals who had visited dark sites (as opposed to heritage sites, where the majority of the research has focused on in the past). Gap = The main gap here was the lack of dark tourism research specific to dark sites, as opposed to the more general heritage sites.

Drozda (2006), Miller & Gonzalez (2013), Williams (2009).	4. Indeed, whilst leisure has the potential to enhance and facilitate social wellbeing and has been covered extensively within the traditional academic arena; it can be argued that the darker, more deviant edges of leisure consumption need investigation, in greater detail.	<p>This highlights a gap in the literature in relation to the consumption of dark tourism as a component of deviant leisure. This affected the study as much of the previous deviant related literature was in the domain of leisure, as opposed being in the context of dark tourism.</p> <p>Gap = The main gap here was the lack of specific literature in relation to dark tourism consumption and its relationship with deviant leisure.</p>
Paraskevaidis & Andriotis (2015)	5. The literature associated with souvenir hunting and souvenir hunting at dark sites and the justification for such acts, either for remembrance, profit making or for personal reasons is greatly under researched within the literature.	<p>This highlights a gap in the literature in relation to the motivations for collecting souvenirs at dark sites. This greatly affected this study and resulted in the design of key questions so as to ascertain the level at which individuals engaged in souvenir hunting pre, during and post visit and subsequent archiving activities.</p> <p>Gap = Lack of literature and empirical data related to the collection of souvenirs at dark sites, both pre, during and post visit and subsequent archiving activities.</p>

2.9.8 Chapter summary

This chapter has reviewed the literature associated with dark tourism and souvenir collection, issues associated with motivations and corroborating factors that facilitate such activities have also been discussed. The next chapter will discuss the methods employed to collect and analyse the primary data that was collected as part of this research. The chapter will detail the research paradigm that has guided the research and a discussion of the ontological and epistemological basis of the research is also addressed. The methodological data collection style, Means End Chain (MEC) is discussed as is the thematic style employed in obtaining the empirical data is also reviewed.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Chapter overview

This chapter discusses, evaluates and justifies the methods employed to collect and analyse the primary data. It begins with an overview as to the purpose of the methodology and a review of the role of the paradigm in guiding the research. Issues associated with the ontological and epistemological basis of the research will be appraised and a review of the methodological data collection style, Means End Chain (MEC) analysis will be discussed and justified. Reference to the thematic analysis style employed (Rokeach Values) is also discussed. The chapter concludes with a review of the methodological tools employed in obtaining the primary data for this research. Validity and reliability of results is evaluated.

3.1 The paradigm

As a starting point we detail the components of this chapter in diagrammatic format (see Table 5).

Table 5. Components of this chapter

<u>Paradigm</u> Interpretative	<u>Ontology</u> Phenomenology	<u>Epistemology</u> Informed by a number of realities	<u>Methodology</u> Qualitative	<u>Empirical methods</u> Means, end-chain analysis
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The collection of any empirical research is dependent upon the methodology employed in the data collection process. The methodology is a process whereby the researcher gathers data /information (Jennings 2001, Mertens 2014). The methodology primarily acts as data collection vehicle and follows particular instructions based upon the type of data being collected. For example, a methodology that wanted to collect data associated with spend at a tourist destination, might collect numeric data and therefore the term quantitative

methodological approach is used. In comparison research that is relatively small scale looking to obtain rich, non-numeric data, possibly obtained via interview would be defined as a qualitative methodological approach. As already mentioned, the methodological style of any research can be divided into two distinct categories, the world of quantitative analysis that attempts to make meaning from numbers (Easterby-Smith et al 2012) and the qualitative, based around the collection and interpretation of words. The researcher can choose to solely use a quantitative or qualitative approach based upon the nature of the research or even employ a mixed methods approach, whereby which both qualitative and quantitative approaches are used to collect empirical data. The mixed method approach to research utilises both qualitative and quantitative methods in an attempt to obtain high quality primary data and to gain a further insight into the subject under investigation (Creswell 2012). The mixed methods approach whilst mixed in classification will probably have one majoritively present research technique (Jennings 2001, Xin et al 2013) with a number of data collection tools being employed (quantitative and qualitative). Such an approach might be employed when a certain component of the data is numeric (quantitative) and where the remainder of the data is more narrative in manner (qualitative). The mixed methods approach would probably not be ideal for this research as the data under collection is qualitative in matter. It is with this in mind that a single approach (qualitative) is employed following an essentially interpretivist paradigm.

A key part of any methodology is to ascertain early on the information requirements of the project or research exercise. The selection of a suitable methodological style and subsequently specific data collection tools has to be selected early on in any research framework. The methodology is influenced by many factors, such as time, type of data to be collected and environmental factors such as location. Of equal importance is the role of the

paradigm and the manner by which it influences the methodology. The next part of this discussion will appraise the role of the paradigm and its influence upon the methodology.

Within the research orchestra three key players exist, these being the paradigm, the ontological base and epistemology, all managed by the conductor or researcher. The research paradigm is a collection of ideas / binding beliefs that guide the research activity; according to Guba and Lincoln (1994; 35) a paradigm is a ‘set of ideas or beliefs that aid research’. The methodology is itself managed by the style of paradigm selected; generally speaking, the paradigm can be positivistic, interpretative, critical theory based, feminist orientated, chaos or post-modern in style (Jennings 2001) (See Table 6).

Table 6. The differing types of paradigms that exist

<u>Positivist</u>	<u>Interpretative</u> <u>(Known as</u> <u>Constructivist)</u>	<u>Critical theory</u>	<u>Feminist</u>	<u>Chaos</u>	<u>Post-modern</u>
Associated with scientific investigation.	Associated with qualitative investigation.	Associated with research that will help and facilitate individual circumstances.	An emergent paradigm, associated with some components of critical theory, acknowledging the role of gender in research and hierarchical issues between males and females.	An emergent paradigm, associated with non-linear development, linked with physical sciences and mathematics.	Associated with no one truth but many. Reality has a number of manifestations.
Use of controlled experiments, repeatable tests and often recorded in numerical / statistical manner. Deductive approach to research.	Collection of rich data, use of focus groups and case studies to obtain empirical data. Inductive approach to research.	Has characteristics that are qualitative in nature. The real world setting, research that will facilitate marginalised groups.	Has qualitative characteristics, the use of multiple realities in a particular social setting (theory from feminist viewpoint)	Influenced by quantitative issues and the manner by which change develops. Views disorder and unpredictability as a component of the social environment.	Influenced by changing society, no one grand theory, a high degree of subjectivity and a society without patterns or prediction.

Jennings (2001).

This is to say that the style of research (in this case referred to as the son or daughter of the paradigm), has a more senior, guiding mentor that dictates acts of behaviour, mannerism, and research style (the mother or father. i.e. the paradigm). Therefore, a methodological style that is characteristically qualitative in design would hold traits of its parental paradigm. A

quantitative methodological style would be informed and guided by its overseeing parental paradigm, the positivist paradigm. Therefore, the researcher must be knowledgeable of the paradigm continuum that at the one end is qualitative (following the rules as detailed by the interpretative paradigm), at the other end, is quantitative (following the regimentation as detailed by the positivist paradigm) and their potential merits and limitations before use (Hussey & Hussey 1997, Collis & Hussey 2013).

All research should be informed by the researcher's own beliefs and knowledge in relation to those issues that underpin the theoretical base of the research (Burrell & Morgan 1979, Rossman, & Rallis 2011). The paradigm is associated with the individual and his or her understanding of the characteristics of the world. Kuhn (1996) discusses the term paradigm and explains how it is used to better understand a phenomenon and the nature by which it should be examined. Therefore, the paradigm is the theoretical equivalent to a private member's club, in which the members (or scientific community) agree to solve a problem using, tried and tested methodological tools that have already been approved and have a track record in terms of usefulness and accuracy. Whilst results that emerge may differ, the one common bond that binds the club members (or researchers) is the agreed manner by which scientific investigation should be performed (Christensen and Klyver 2006). Where disagreements exist in terms of an accepted research approach the term pre-paradigmatic is used.

Generally speaking and as alluded to earlier, a number of paradigms exist that guide the research process. The paradigm is a collection of thoughts and concepts employed to aid research, the hallmark of a valid piece of research is the researcher's knowledge and selection of an appropriate paradigm to ensure validity of the research. The two main paradigms that present the alternative ends of the research spectrum are the positivist based research

paradigm and the interpretative based research paradigm. According to Jennings (2001) and more recently Potter (2013) the positivistic paradigm is associated with the employment of scientific debate in an attempt to fully understand the social world. Individuals including Isaac Newton (1642-1727) and later Auguste Comte (1798-1857) advocated a viewpoint that the world and subsequently any research investigation should be informed and regulated by scientific rules, where by science has the guiding base. The positivist paradigm manifests itself in laboratory work, scientific experiments and data analysis.

In comparison the interpretative paradigm put forward to support this research, with particular reference to the methodology is supported by the interpretive paradigm. This is due to the fact that individual realities associated with visiting a particular site will be different for each individual and this primarily is the nature of the research. As for positivism it does not suit this research, due to the manner of the subject matter being studied (i.e visitor action pre, during and post visit), in addition to which the positivist research paradigm advocates investigating issues associated with cause and effect and of those associations yet to be discovered. Finally, positivism is more associated with numerics and the hard sciences associated with experimentation and testing.

3.2 The ontology

Each paradigm has an ontological base, or a set of beliefs associated with the manner in which the world is observed. This is a part of the philosophical narrative that studies the nature and character of reality. For example, a paradigm that is positivist in nature will have an accompanying ontological base (see Table 7).

Table 7. The differing Ontology

Positivist Ontology	Interpretative Ontology
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Predefined rules . Order . Role of universal laws as guiding principles . Informed by physical science . Guided by science . Often aided by experimentation . Nomothetic in nature (based around observable facts) . Observable and testable activities . Deductive in style 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Multiple realities as opposed to one . Inductive in style . Generalisations associated with data collected . Interpretation of phenomena from internal perspective . Research in social environment . Ideographic in nature

Jennings (2001)

Ontological issues are themselves the fabric of the research universe associated with reality and the disposition of the world. Put simply, ontology is associated with attitudes to reality (Philimore & Goodson, 2004, Bryman & Bell 2011). In terms of paradigms, for example those that buy into the positivist paradigm, will have a set of predefined ontological rules or basis that they view reality through, in this case the positivist paradigm ontological base is informed by universal laws, physical science and the world being guided by science. The analogy can be drawn here with the ontological kaleidoscope which when viewed through sees all research matter in a quantifiable and measurable manner. This is to say that reality as viewed through a positivist kaleidoscope would attempt to explain its existence from a purely scientific manner and would look for evidence of proof in experiments that can be repeated in laboratory conditions. The ontology of positivism would have little time for any debate or investigation regarding the existence of UFO's, Bigfoot, The Dyatlov Pass incident or the Ararat anomaly. Such phenomena do not lend themselves to scientific testing or replicable experiments. In contrast, the ontology of interpretivism (this being the underpinning paradigm to the research), relates to reality being informed by the manner and characteristics of the individual (Perry 1998). This is to say that reality depends on the person being interviewed; this could be different for each individual, a reality dependent upon the

individual and their opinions and experience. This further adds weight to the call for its inclusion as most suitable research paradigm for this thesis.

3.3 Epistemology

Epistemology is associated with the manner by which knowledge is obtained and the relationship between researcher and subject matter under investigation (Jennings 2001). In contrast Ayikorou (2009) associates epistemology with what surmises as knowledge and alternative notions of truth (see Table 8).

Table 8. The differing Epistemology

Positivist Epistemology	Interpretative Epistemology
. Becoming objective, establishing no relationship with the subject and being able to reproduce the same results from the research.	. Becoming a social actor, entering the research environment and being objective.

Likewise, with the earlier discussion of the positivist paradigm and its ontological base, the positivist paradigm has an accompanying epistemological base that says (amongst other things) that all research should be objective, should not impact or influence findings and that the research should be replicable by other researchers. The relationship between the paradigm and the ontological and epistemological base is specific and in layman's terms, those researchers that worship at a particular paradigm church will have ontological and epistemological views that are enforced, encouraged or advocated by their place of worship (i.e. the paradigm chapel). Therefore, a researcher who starts the research process with predefined beliefs that the research will follow a particular approach has not fully appreciated the role of ontology and epistemology in guiding the research process (Burrell & Morgan 1979). Indeed, the methodological approach is key to the nature of research and will be impacted upon by a number of external factors including the aim, objectives or even hypothesis associated with the research (Silverman 2013). Those researchers that start the

research journey with the unwavering belief that one specific research style will be employed without any consideration of the differing paradigms will soon find that their time has been wasted.

The research that underpins this investigation is qualitative in nature and follows a paradigm that is interpretative by nature and a methodology that is qualitative. Such an approach collects information in the form of text, written material, observation and verbal discussion, and so in turn presents the research environment as an authentic social reality (this is its guiding ontology). This research is primarily associated with investigating the activities of visitors to dark sites and their actions pre, during and post visit. This would seem the most logical style as a positivist approach would not ascertain, issues associated with feelings, motivations, empathy and actions associated with each visitor and their actions. Ryan (1995) has argued that quantitative approaches limit any opportunities for the visitor to express themselves and with this, much valuable data is lost. Ryan's (1995) research investigates the role of past experiences of holidays, acting as determinates of future holiday choices. Whilst this research is different from that of Ryan's (1995), one can at least agree that the qualitative approach is probably the best methodological approach for this type of subject matter under investigation. As detailed already, this research follows an interpretative paradigm; the interpretative approach advocates understanding and empathy and put simply "research accuracy is attained when; through sympathetic participation we can adequately grasp the emotional context in which the action took place" (Weber 1978; 5). The interpretative paradigm makes the assumption that a number of realities exist within society, by this we mean that many explanations exist to explain an event or phenomenon, as opposed to one overarching all-embracing theory (Holloway & Wheeler 2013). For example, an individual who has been brought up with little of life's luxuries, having experienced hardship and

neglect will have a different perspective / outlook on life, resulting in them holding particular beliefs about the real world. Likewise, the reverse can be said of the privileged individual having benefited from a private education and having travelled and experienced life; will themselves have a fundamental different view of reality. In this example at least two realities exist of the same world, hence the suitability of an interpretative paradigm.

Whilst the correct selection and appropriate utilisation of data collection methods is key to any research exercise, a more fundamental issue is the paradigm that underpins any data collection style (method) as this in turn bolsters the building of knowledge through the research activity. The interpretative paradigm views the external environment as a collection of numerous realities (interpretive ontology). This is to say that researchers within this field adopt an inductive approach to such research which is associated with developing theory as the researcher collects and examines the information. The inductive approach advocates the gathering of data in the social environment in which phenomenon occurs and sees the researcher analysing the data so as to then generate theory. By employing the inductive approach, data is collected from the research environment, reviewed and then theory is developed in an attempt to explain the phenomena (Neuman 2000, Gioia et al 2013). The data is often collected by interviewing insiders, local residents or visitors and those privy to the phenomenon and from which data is obtained. It is important to note that the inductive approach uses texts, narratives and discourse and involves a relatively small number of participants. The data is often rich in content and in detail and the data from this kind of research does not attempt to extrapolate it to the wider population and therefore should not assume that it represents the wider community / society. The data is merely a portrait of those subjects participating in the research and their opinions at that specific moment in time. In terms of gathering information, an interpretative approach sees the researcher seeking to

better understand the phenomena under investigation from a specific viewpoint. This enables multiple realities to develop that should all be viewed with equal levels of importance and value. In contrast, the deductive approach to research is schooled in the positivist paradigm, that starts from a viewpoint where theory exists to explain a phenomenon and the researcher then goes about collecting data to test the theory within an empirical environment; this is then either accepted or rejected. The data is often statistical in nature and can be used objectively to infer things regarding the whole population within the study.

3.4 Phenomenology

Phenomenology originates from two Greek words, meaning appearance and *logos* meaning word or reasoning; this effectively translates into reasoned appearance (Pernecky and Jamal 2010). Phenomenology is often depicted as being associated with the science of human experiences (Polkinghorne 1989, Hays & Wood 2011), with reference to the human understanding and experience of consciousness. Van Manen (2002; 23) refers to the misunderstanding often held by researchers with respect to phenomenology and states “phenomenology is often mistaken for a qualitative method; it is in actual fact an area within philosophy that has been appropriated to provide methodological guidance in applied research”. However, according to Santos & Yan (2009) and more recently Bernard & Bernard (2012), phenomenology is both a philosophical movement and a methodological approach for data collection that have been practised in a number of fields ranging from education to nursing. Phenomenology can be used within an organisational setting to better understand complex issues that may not necessarily present themselves immediately. Phenomenology is associated with the manner by which the external environment is perceived by the viewer and the perceptions held by the viewer. Li (2000; 865) refers to

phenomenology as attempting to identify “inherent essences” associated with the external environment in which we live.

The phenomenological approach to research is associated with gathering information and individual perceptions that are rich in nature, through inductive qualitative methods such as interviews and participant observation. The phenomenological approach is very useful at better appreciating individual subjective experiences and therefore enabling a greater insight into individual actions / motivations. The phenomenological approach is useful for eliciting the experience and perceptions held by users from their own viewpoints and can therefore contest traditional assumptions held. Husserl (1970) describes pure phenomenology as seeking to describe, rather than to fully explain a phenomena and often starts from a position that is free from hypothesis. In contrast, some from the humanist and feminist schools have argued that phenomenological research must start with a predefined remit; this might include a research framework, or some kind of intended research question (Plummer, 1983; Stanley & Wise, 1993; Aitchison, 2013).

As a precursor it is important to start by defining those philosophical traditions that inform the phenomenological approach. Generally speaking we can identify two philosophical camps that differ on their definition of phenomenology. Heidegger (1962) and Merleau-Ponty (1962) are of the opinion that the researcher must acknowledge their own presence within the research world and that the researcher is an integral part of the research and not separate or bracketed from the research activity. This approach would elicit results that have been obtained from a dual relationship between the researcher and the interviewee or phenomena under investigation. In contrast Husserl (1970) and Husserl (2012) stance on phenomenology is that any researcher must maintain an independent / separate impartial position. Such an approach has been advocated within the medical profession, which considers the Husserlian

approach as a highly reputable one for researching human motivations. The Husserlian approach to phenomenology aims to identify the origin from which the phenomenon emerged and “to reveal the object to which meaning is being attached” (Wimpenny & Gass, 2000; 9). It also prides itself on the use of bracketing, that is to say that any beliefs or opinions held prior to the onset of the research must be abandoned. By suspending pre held perceptions or beliefs, a truer, richer and more refined phenomenon emerges (Crotty 1996). The method of bracketing ensures that any presuppositions held by the researcher regarding the external environment can be reduced and the phenomenon under investigation and related phenomenological matter can be revealed in its true form, free from interference. However, a number of authors including Shutz (1972) and more recently Taylor (1995) have recognised the problems with attempting to suspend belief when employing this approach; that said, the essence here is one of detachment and impartiality, in contrast to those philosophers like Heidegger, who advocate active involvement and closeness with the subject matter under investigation (Aguilar & Silva 2013).

The phenomenological enquirer often explores small groups or social events employing qualitative methods such as face to face interviews and participant observation (Costelloe 1996 & Porter 1995). The medical fraternity have successfully employed phenomenology to investigate those areas of medicine that do not necessarily lend themselves to a traditional positivist approach. In this case, phenomenology has been employed to better appreciate and understand the power of empathy and welfare. Indeed Huyn’s (1995) research perfectly encapsulates the strength of phenomenology as a tool for collecting information associated with the power of touch, firstly within a palliative care setting so as to facilitate patient well-being, reassurance and security in terms of patient health care. Secondly, and still within the medical profession, Borbasi’s (1996) research has espoused the benefits of phenomenology when collecting data associated with care of patients. Borbasi (1996) also identifies the merits

of phenomenology when investigating feeling and emotions associated with patients' experiences of cancer and those who have cared for them (Converse 2012). Within the field of marketing, research by Thompson (1997) and Thompson et al (1989) highlights many of the underlying values associated with phenomenology and its many manifestations. Other examples include Thompson's (1996) research, associated with consumption and lifestyle in gender and Thompson & Haytko's (1997) research associated with fashion selection and identity. Other studies that have employed a phenomenological approach and are rooted in consumer studies include Goulding et al's (2002) research on dance culture, Mick & Demoss's (1990) research associated with gift giving, O'Guinn & Faber's (1989) research on excessive shopping and Aspers (2012) research on fashion consumption.

Moving forward into the tourism field; phenomenology has been employed for investigating tourist experiences associated with place (Ingram 2002, Masberg & Silverman 1996 and Wilson et al 2013). Santos & Yan (2009) employed a phenomenological approach to better understand the lived experiences of tourists visiting Fort Wayne Genealogy Library. All of the tourists were heavily interested in pursuing their own families' genealogical links with the past. In this study the authors sought to identify values associated with engaging in genealogy, employing verbal discussions and observations of visitors at the centre. In total, 27 interviews were carried out (21 males and 6 females) with interviews lasting on average between 30 minutes to an hour and a half. The results obtained reinforce the notion of family, loss of loved ones and the notion of wanting to better understand the time and place in which ancestors / loved ones lived and the reaffirming of ones own self within the context of the wider world. Clearly the manner of this research would not necessarily lend itself to a positivist data collection style and supports the merits of employing a phenomenology in this kind of research. Looking further into the use of phenomenology within a tourism setting, a number of studies can be mentioned these are as follows. Firstly it has primarily been used as

a tool to better understand the lived and experiential manner by which host, visitors and service providers interact within the phenomena of tourism. Such an approach does not just detail the visual components of the world (i.e. beaches, airplane, hotel) but shifts the notion to viewing these visual components within the wider world and their meaning to us as individuals, for example driving / flying to a holiday location or even the experience of staying in a luxury hotel (Cerbone 2006).

Phenomenological research within the tourism setting also has its critics; indeed a number of authors have been critical of the manner by which researchers have not been true to the philosophical origins of phenomenology (Szarycz 2009). A number of works associated with tourism have been tagged as being positivistic in style and merely employ descriptive terminology to describe the phenomenological process (Pernecky and Jamal 2010). Studies associated with visiting dolphin attractions (Curtin 2006) and The Rocks in Sydney Australia (Hayllar and Griffin 2005) and Obenour's (2004) research associated with budget travellers and the journey they take have been criticised as being over reliant upon the narrative, narrowly prescribed and generally positivistic in style. Szarycz (2009) adds that many of these studies are based on a mismatch of ideas and that many authors fail to be loyal to the origins of the philosophy of phenomenology, lacking true reality and objectivity and instead choosing to detail phenomenology as a prescribed method with little or no room for appreciating the diversity of the phenomenological tradition.

From a chronological perspective, phenomenology has a long and in some cases a confusing past. Some have viewed phenomenology from a philosophical perspective (Husserl 1962, Heidegger, 1962), others including Schutz (1967) have viewed it as a methodological approach. Husserl's (1962) approach employs a check list for defining and classifying experiences that are subjective in nature and employs the term 'lifeworld' to describe a

process where human beings live along side other human beings, experiencing and being effected by culture and society. In comparison Schutz (1967) describes phenomenology as a methodological tool for collecting data associated with everyday experiences (the social world). Gregova (1996) differentiates between the lifeworld and the social world and instead puts forward the proposition that the lifeworld is more associated with formal structures that we are less aware off, in contrast to the social world that is associated with regular everyday actions and activities. The goal of phenomenology is to ensure that our understanding of experiences is facilitated so as to ensure a deeper and richer understanding of our daily and immediate experiences. Merleau-Ponty (1962; 85) notes that the results from phenomenological research should be “a direct description of our experiences without taking account of its psychological origin”. Therefore, one can note that phenomenology is fundamentally associated with uncovering the features of any experience (Finlay 2012).

Viewing phenomenology from a social perspective, Schutz (1967) notes that individuals approach the lifeworld with a collection of predetermined experiences / constructs made up from interactions within the social world. These predetermined experiences or stock; do themselves produce a set level of familiarity, but are often incomplete, having been informed by everyday experiences and social interactions. If we are to accept the notion that an individual’s life is socially constructed, then only one key data source can be investigated, namely the views and experiences of the individual themselves. This therefore assumes that the individual viewpoint should be taken as being accurate and that only those individuals who have experience of the event or who have lived the experience should be approached and interviewed, with their views being accepted as a fair and accurate reflection of reality (Seidman 2012). Goulding (2005; 70) adds that “the phenomenologist has only one source of data, and that is the views and experiences of the participants themselves”.

The interview is widely accepted as the main method for data collection within phenomenology (Wimpenny and Gass 2000; Merriam 2014) enabling the interviewee's descriptions to be analysed and explored in greater detail (Kvale 1996; Englander 2012). Jasper (1994) notes that those individuals who engage in phenomenological research need to ensure that they are sufficiently proficient at eliciting the lived experience of the interviewee without inadvertently contaminating any of the data or imposing any of their own preconceptions and beliefs. Jasper's (1994) beliefs are at odds with those promoted by Polit and Hungler (1991) who are at pains to point out that the subjective nature of the researcher and his or her beliefs is key to any phenomenological research. Either way both Jasper (1994) and Polit and Hungler (1991) agree on one thing, namely that the characteristics of good phenomenological research lies in the ability of the researcher to continually clarify points of interest and to reinforce understanding with a continual request for examples. Such observations are also supported by the likes of Seidman (2012) who advocates a key requirement for phenomenological research, this being an interest in narrative and tales as developed by the interviewee.

Within the phenomenological tradition the interview is referred to as being "a specific type of in-depth interviewing method grounded in the theoretical tradition of phenomenology" (Marshall and Rossman 1995; 82). From a philosophical perspective and what fundamentally differentiates this interview style from other types of interviews, is the style of relationship between researcher and participant. This relationship now moves into a more dialog based qualitative style in which the interviewer emerges themselves in the rich tapestry of the interviewee's responses with great emphasis upon reflection, a key characteristic of phenomenological research (Munhall & Olier Boyd 1993; Gallagher & Zahavi 2012). In terms of the manner and style of an interview that is phenomenology orientated, Crotty (1996) and more recently Pringle et al (2011) advocate a simple starting point with the

researcher asking the interviewee to start by describing their experience of a particular event. This is further developed and probed with points of clarification used by the researcher to illuminate points of interest during the research journey. Others including Ring and Danielson (1997) and more recently (Daggenvoorde et al 2013) advocate the use of an aide memoire or interview guide, in an attempt facilitate the research process. Bush and Barr's (1997) phenomenological research, in contrast, starts by asking the interviewee about their feelings associated with a particular subject, followed by appraising the interviewee's feelings regarding rewards associated with carrying out a particular activity, all of which follow an unstructured and in-depth style, as described by Koch (1996). In conclusion, the phenomenologist's key objective is to reveal the experiences as held by the interviewee, so as to better allow a free flowing of phenomena to emerge. A decision must be made early on as to the philosophical approach that will be used to inform the researcher's phenomenological approach and should be suitably justified by literature sources in the context of the research matter and its philosophical orientation.

3.5 Means-End Chain analysis

Means-End Chain (MEC) theory is a qualitative methodological tool employed to clarify those values held by consumers when making decisions. MEC dictates that users choose products and services that have particular attributes which enable the user to attain required consequences. MEC seeks to investigate how an individual's selection process associated with a specific commodity enables the user to achieve a desired outcome (Gutman 1982). The concept involves a number of elements that attempts to link perceived values associated with a particular commodity and the benefits associated with that selection choice. Gutman (1982; 29) identifies two issues that underpin the philosophy of MEC. Firstly, 'all consumer actions have consequences' and secondly 'all consumers learn to associate particular consequences with particular actions they may take'. The consequences associated with consuming a

product can be positive (desirable / beneficial) or negative (non-desirable / non beneficial). Such consequences may be immediate (from consuming the product) or indirect, at a later time period. The key issue associated with MEC is that consumers select specific actions that result in desirable consequences and attempt to minimise non desirable consequences. For example, a consequence of dieting for an individual could be to lose weight and look good, such a consequence (lose weight and look good) are potentially two key values held by the consumer that will emerge from the MEC interviewing technique. MEC employs a number of methods in an attempt to assess individual actions associated with decision making and the connections between each outcome. From this perspective, MEC can be used to explain how actions associated with consumption enable consumers to self-actualise in terms of a required end state (Gutman & Alden 1985; Amatulli & Guido 2011). One of the main underlying theme associated with MEC is that products and or services (and not excluding locations, and destinations) have significance and meaning to users / consumers and as a result, individuals evaluate such meanings during and post purchase (Gutman 1982; López-Mosquera & Sánchez 2011). The MEC format would normally consist of three components these being attributes, consequences and values (Klenosky et al 1993; McDonald et al 2011). Attributes are often associated with characteristics of the product or service or the physical / observable matter. Consequences are abstract; often associated with anticipated actions during or post purchase, (in this scenario the consumer hopes to receive positive benefits associated with the purchase of a particular product). Finally values can be considered as “centrally held cognitive elements that trigger motivation for behaviour such as happiness” (Vinson et al 1977; 88). Put simply the values relate to a desired end play such as contentment, happiness, totality or even a sense of triumph. Such values are themselves often thought to guide choice and selection and ultimately purchase behaviour (Verhoff et al 1981).

Chronologically, MEC has a valued pedigree as a methodological tool and traditionally has been employed in a multitude of disciplines, but originating from marketing (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon 2009). Examples include beverage consumption (Gutman 1984), weight reduction associated with personal goals (Pieters et al 1995), selection of higher education providers, (Gutman & Miaoulis 2003, Goldenberg, et al 2006) and product specifications associated with camera selection (Graeff 1997). It has also been extensively used in tourism and leisure related areas of research (Kang et al 2013; Sirgy et al 2011). For example it has been employed to better understand motivations associated with ski resort selection (Klenosky et al 1993), the behavioural factors that influence golf course use (Frauman & Cunningham 2001) and the social designs associated with museum visitation (Jansen-Verbeke & Van Rekom 1996). In recent years it has also been employed in research associated with adventure tourism participation (McAvay et al 2006), nature based tourism, Klenosky et al (1993) and in assessing host resident perceptions of tourism development (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon 2009). A possible paradigm shift has emerged over recent years; previous research which concentrated more on marketing / consumer orientation (Klenosky et al 1993) has now seen as now, a greater number of research outputs are associated with motivations, individual reason for action and individual values associated with recreational consumption (Goldenberg et al 2006, McAvay et al 2006). Gutman & Reynolds (1979) praise MEC and its suitability for obtaining qualitative data associated with a better understanding of consumer motivations. More recently, Kaciak & Cullen (2006) have employed such a technique to better appreciate purchase patterns in market research. The MEC research technique employs a semi-structured one on one interview style; this has also been referred to as the laddering technique (Reynolds & Gutman 1988). The laddering technique was developed by Hinkle (1965) primarily for use in the area of clinical psychology to investigate individual motivations and values associated with decision making. Wansink (2000 ;30)

states “the laddering technique is similar to that of the work of a psychologist interviewing a patient on a couch and uncovering insights into their lives that are not apparent to even the patient”.

The use of laddering enables the interviewer to identify behavioural traits as held by the interviewee (Weeden 2008; Amatulli, & Guido 2011) and enables the researcher to identify attributes associated with the product which are important to the purchaser. Reynolds & Gutman (2001; 26) perfectly encapsulate the notion of the laddering technique when they state that “laddering is an interview technique which is used to develop an understanding of how consumers translate the attributes of a product into meaningful association with respect to the self”. One can further add that the laddering interview technique attempts to delve into the hidden human psyche of purchase behaviour and link product characteristics to the benefits of use, and in turn to specific values held by the consumer (Pike 2012). The laddering technique requires the interviewee to identify attributes associated with a particular product or service and then apply a particular level of importance to that product or service. The characteristics associated with the product or service are then applied to a particular consequence of using the product or service and finally then to a value associated in the mind of the consumer with using the product or service. In this scenario the interviewee is continually questioned by the interviewer in an attempt to link the Attributes (A), Consequences (C) and Values (V) they associate with the product or service they have used / purchased. The significance of values to the purchaser is one way in which a better understanding of individual selection patterns can emerge (Steenkamp & Burgess 2002). Indeed, Kamakura & Mazzon (1991) espouse the importance of using people’s values as indicators of human behaviour and how they remain relatively constant over a time period.

The laddering process starts with the utilisation of questioning techniques along the lines of “why is that important to you” (Reynolds & Gutman 2001, Weijters & Muylle 2008). This enables the researcher to better appreciate why an individual purchases a particular product or service and the characteristics / attributes that facilitate the purchase and their level of importance to the purchaser / consumer. The response given often relates to the order of benefits as perceived by the respondent; in this way the laddering concept directs the user in a linear style, further investigating those links between the core attributes of an item, the abstract benefits that the attributes provide and finally those extremely personal values that are of high importance to the consumer (Klenosky, et al 1993; Lin & Lin 2011). For example a MEC obtained from a laddering technique interview can potentially link the attributes of a holiday destination: ‘has beautiful countryside’ to a benefit associated with it: ‘I can relax’ to a higher stage benefit ‘I feel healthier’, and finally to the value: ‘I feel better / a more whole person’ (improved self –esteem). This chain details how a destination can exert certain pull factors that relate to the specific personal values and consequences of travel that are of key importance to the traveller. As already mentioned, those higher level benefits and values might themselves be a component of those identical factors that pushed an individual to experience the countryside / to travel in the first place.

In another example associated with individual values connected with the consumption of high energy stimulation drinks, the interviewee might detail the following reasons for consumption. Firstly, the individual under questioning when asked why they drink such a beverage may respond that it quenches their thirst, resulting in a more focused mind state (improved concentration), leading to improved memory, leading to improved academic ability and eventually improved assignment grades (Gutman 1997). This example shows how the real reason for beverage consumption, may be somewhat different from what was

originally thought and has ramifications for those tasked with designing promotional strategies to tap into the energy drink market and the psyche of the energy drink consumers.

The MEC approach enables a clearer understanding of the pull attributes of a particular product in association with the consequences and values held by its user / purchaser. By investigating the pull factors associated with product selection we will inevitably also uncover possible push factors and therefore better appreciate how such forces might interact and relate to one another. A further benefit of MEC is that it can be used to identify those pull factors that are prominent to different user types when making a purchase decision. By identifying those differences it will have important ramifications for segmentation of user types and profiling (Kirchhoff et al 2011)

The ladder or laddering technique is itself based around a series of hierarchies with respondents being required to identify a base level response associated with a particular scenario; this becomes the first level of the ladder. Veludo de Oliveira et al (2006) detail how the interviewee is facilitated by a series of repetitive questions to further identify attributes, consequences and values associated with a particular product, continually followed with a “why” style question. The use of the “why” technique should if done correctly enable the interviewer to better appreciate the level of involvement each respondent has with the purchase decision. Wansink (2000) notes that such responses (from the interviewee) should no longer be general comments about the product, but a deeper contemplation of those personal values that have aided the purchase. Such a method takes the interviewee further up the ladder so as to better ascertain reasons for actions associated with purchase, with higher level meaning developing from each ladder stage. Olson, (1988) and more recently Reynolds

& Olson (2001; 105) detail the following questions as being typical of those used during a laddering interview.

Why is it important to you? ➡ How does that help you? ➡ What do you get from that? ➡
Why do you want that? ➡ What happened as a result of that?

From an academic perspective, both Foote & Lamb (2002) and Wansink (2003) and more recently Pai & Arnott (2013) have noted how such a technique allows the interviewee to think more philosophically as to their motivations for engaging in particular consumption activities and therefore enabling a more thoughtful insight to emerge. Rather than just detailing the characteristics of the product, subconscious motivations of product attribute and values are revealed. In one such laddering interview, Klenosy et al (1993) detail how those individuals who engage in the active pastime of downhill skiing go about actively selecting a location for skiing and vacationing.

The ladder resulting from the interview is detailed next:

Fun and thrills (Value)

A challenge (Consequence)

Difficult (Attribute)

Hills and tracks (Attribute)



From the aforementioned ladder it is fairly clear to see how, based around the notion of selecting a destination for skiing, that environmental factors such as topography and land mass played a key role in attracting skiers to select such a destination. Upon further

investigation environments with hills and tracks (an attribute) presented some degree of difficulty to the skiers, albeit in a self-imposed manner. Difficulty (an attribute) was seen as being positive and facilitated selection of the ski resort. Further up the hierarchy, a challenge was identified (in terms of the surroundings, i.e. hills and tracks) as a challenge; this resulted in fun and thrills (a value). Here in lies the beauty of the laddering techniques whereby not solely concentrating on the product attribute (in this case the hills and tracks), but by investigating further via probing questions we are better able to identify higher order motivations such as the challenging nature of the environment and subsequently the bespoke value of individual fun and excitement as the key reason for this kind of resort selection.

Laddering is an ideal methodological tool lending itself to identifying product selection processes and the consequences and values associated with them. That said, we need to remember that the laddering technique has its limitations and this is discussed at some length by Reynolds & Gutman (1988) who argue that the technique is only as good as the individual employing the method, this is to say that anybody employing the technique must be skilled in its use and knowledgeable of its pitfalls. Reynold & Gutman (1988) refer to negative laddering as a term used to describe the process whereby the individual being interviewed may not know the real reason as to why they act in a particular manner when engaging in product selection. Other potential problems exist in relation to the manner by which information or knowledge is managed. This is to say that the laddering technique makes the assumption that all knowledge is managed in a hierarchical style. Thyne (2001; 75) has argued that such an approach tries to “force a relationship between values and attitudes that might not exist”. Also, the repetitive manner by which the interviewee is continually questioned might in some cases result in the exhaustive interviewee espousing the all too obvious, with little depth of meaning. Finally the personal nature of the interview can in some

cases limit; natural flow and reduce the quality of output from the session (Reynolds & Gutman 1988). In conclusion, the interviewer must become fully skilled with the laddering interview technique, so as to ensure that completeness is brought to the level of questioning, to appreciate the nuances and implicit manner by which individuals answer questions and ensure that no areas have been left unanswered (Amatulli & Guido 2011). This makes it imperative that a pilot study is employed pre full scale adoption of the laddering technique and this will be discussed next.

3.6 Originality of methods employed

The MEC approach is an innovative methodological tool that has been used in a number of disciplines from health care to sports participation, but has its origins within the subject of marketing (Jung 2014). As a starting point both the MEC approach and the laddering technique lend themselves ideally for better understanding consumer motivations and are themselves appropriate for eliciting the views of individuals who visit dark sites (Kang et al 2010). Not only does the technique enable a richer and more qualitative level of data to emerge from the interview, it also enables the researcher to better understand the motivations of the interviewee. The MEC theory gives the researcher the opportunity to investigate important factors that the interviewee associates with a particular product or service. From a theoretical perspective the individual / consumer selects products or services with specific attributes that will result in a positive benefit or consequence. These consequences are themselves a key function of the personal values as held by the consumer (Frauman & Cunningham 2001) and more recently Chen (2006).

The MEC works by focusing in on the cognitive links between key attributes of visiting a dark site and these reasons are then summarised along a series of relationships associated with attributes, consequences and values with product selection. At this point we can add that the MEC approach is innovative as it uses specific benchmarks (in this case attributes,

consequences and values) in an attempt to better map the users motivations and product attributes to aid selection. In addition the laddering technique enables the interviewer to utilise open ended questions to further identify why a particular concept associated with the product was important to the consumer. The use of terms like “Why was it is important to you” and “Why did you choose the product over another” enables the interviewer to better understand particular actions of the consumer and therefore develop a ladder, that runs in a linear manner enabling the key components of product selection to be identified. The utilisation of MEC and the laddering technique has a high degree of originality in assessing important product attributes associated with a visit to a dark site.

3.7 Thematic analysis, using VALS

The selection of possible techniques to be used in analysing qualitative data is dependent upon a number of external factors often related to time, availability of resources, type of qualitative data and the initial aim and objectives associated with the research (Crowther and Lancaster 2009). Running parallel to these observations issues associated with data reduction, a term used by Crowther and Lancaster (2009) to describe the process whereby which raw data is compartmentalise / organised into manageable chunks with meaning being ascertained from the data. With this in mind the author has employed MEC and laddering in an attempt to obtain qualitative data relating to the attributes, consequences and values associated with visiting dark tourism sites. In previous studies the use of a software programme called Laddermap has been employed in an attempt to extract the raw qualitative data from the laddering technique interviews (the Laddermap software is based on content analysis, but is no longer available, therefore this has not been employed in this study). Other studies have employed manual coding of data (Chen 2006), whilst others have advocated the use of information technology (IT) to facilitate the data analysis process. For the purpose of this

research, Value Survey (RVS) developed by Rokeach (1973) by was deemed an appropriate method of analysis for this study and will be discussed shortly. From an external perspective the use of RVS analysis within the context of a laddering interview has been employed in the past, in an attempt to assess reasons for product purchase and has a suitable pedigree in analysing qualitative data from the ladder interview. The RVS analysis method has not been used specifically in the past, in the context of assessing motivations for visiting dark tourism sites and therefore does itself offer a methodological contribution into the analysis of laddering interview data.

RVS was created by Milton Rokeach in 1973. Rokeach was a social psychologist who developed a classification system associated with individual human values. According to Rokeach (1979) human values are defined as “core conceptions of the desirable within every individual and society. They serve as standards or criteria to guide not only action but also judgment, choice, attitude, evaluation, argument, exhortation, rationalization, and attribution of causality.” Put simply Rokeach research was interested in finding out people’s underlying values associated with consumption.

The RVS concept is based around two sets of values: instrumental values and terminal values and within each of these value categories there exists 18 individual value items. Starting with the instrumental values these are beliefs or conceptions about desirable modes of behaviour that are instrumental to the attainment of desirable end points, such as honesty, responsibility, and capability. Terminal values are beliefs or conceptions about ultimate goals of existence that are worth surviving for, such as happiness, self-respect, and freedom (see Table 9).

Table 9. Instrumental and terminal values

Instrumental Values refer to preferable modes of behaviour. These are preferable modes of behaviour, or means of achieving the terminal values.	Terminal Values refer to desirable end-states of existence. These are the goals that a person would like to achieve during his or her lifetime.
Cheerfulness Ambition Love Cleanliness Self-Control Capability Courage Politeness Honesty Imagination Independence Intellect Broad-Mindedness Logic Obedience Helpfulness Responsibility Forgiveness	True Friendship Mature Love Self-Respect Happiness Inner Harmony Equality Freedom Pleasure Social Recognition Wisdom Salvation Family Security National Security A Sense of Accomplishment A World of Beauty A World at Peace A Comfortable Life An Exciting Life

Rokeach (1973)

The RVS has been extensively used in empirical work by psychologists, sociologists and marketers in an attempt to better understand underlying reasons for consuming particular product or brands. The aforementioned instrumental and terminal values were employed during the interview as a thematic reference point and were used by the interviewer as reference points so as to get a better understanding of the interviewees motivations associated with particular actions. The instrumental and terminal values were also used immediately post the end of each interview so as to theme the respondents responses and to seek clarification with the interviewee in terms of what they had really meant.

3.8 The sample

In order to realise the aim of this research, the author adopted an interpretivist design and a qualitative approach to the collection of primary data. This was deemed as the most suitable method due to its nature, namely the in-depth investigation of motivations of the participants involved. Whilst it is recognized by Robson (2002) that it is important to collect data from the whole of the population, this might not be possible and therefore sampling is employed.

Sampling primarily takes two forms, firstly probability (these tend to be used when the probability of the selection of each respondent is known) and secondly non-probability sampling (these tend to be used when the probability of the selection of each respondent is not known) Robson (2002). Remenyi et al, (2005) argued that the selection of a random sample is not really of any use for those engaging in phenomenology based research as those sampled might not be knowledgeable of the subject under discussion. Therefore the use of non-probability sampling offers a degree of subjectivity where by those who are interviewed are at least informed of the subject under discussion. If we were to advocate an approach that was characteristically probability in nature, the list would be endless and those interviewed may not have an opinion or be knowledgeable of the subject matter under review and ultimately collecting data that is of no use. Sanders et al (2007) details how the selection of approaches namely probability or non-probability sampling can be aided by a simple approach, namely if the data cannot be collected from the entire population and if no statistical inferences are made from the data, then the approach must be to employ a non-probability sampling method. Therefore the method of sampling for this research is non-probability sampling aligned next to convenience sampling. Remenyi (2005) details how convenience samples are those groups of individuals that are most readily available to partake in the study.

As a starting point, the author utilised the UG student population at Salford University who were studying a core year 2 module, comprising of approximately 300 students. An email was sent to each of the students (email address are available via the University address list) asking them whether or not they have visited a geographical location associated with death or destruction and as to whether or not they would be prepared to discuss this experience at a later date. Prior to the aforementioned activity, ethical approval has been sought and obtained from the Colleges Research Governance & Ethics Sub-Committee. A response rate of

approximately 10% was recorded, from which 19 interviews were possible, 5 of which were used as the pilot study and the other 14 made up the main interviews. A Means End Chain approach was employed to collect the primary data; this involved a one to one interview lasting approximately one hour.

3.9 The pilot study

A pilot study enables the researcher to ensure that any method of data collection is suitable pre full mass scale adoption. Any potential problems associated with terminology, style and questions can be identified and rectified prior to use. Gill and Johnson (1997) advocate the employment of the pilot study enabling the researcher to obtain feedback in terms of suitability of the methods selected and the development of clearer more suitable questions. Yin (2003) and Yin (2013) supports such observations and adds that the pilot study acts as a refining tool both in terms of the quality of questions to be employed and the administration of the data collection process.

The purpose of the pilot study was to assess two key issues, firstly that the author was sufficiently knowledgeable of the MEC interview style and secondly that the manner in which they were to be administer was suitable. The pilot study attempted to ensure that the interviewer was sufficiently competent to administer a MEC interview. Five separate interviews were carried out each lasting approximately 80 minutes at which a third party, who was familiar with the MEC techniques sat in a monitored the interview process (Dr Peter Schofield). After each session, both the interviewer and monitor compared notes in relation to the ladders that resulted from the interview. After the fourth interview both parties had identified similar values associated with each interviewee. It was then felt that a suitable level

of competence had evolved and that the interviewer was sufficiently knowledgeable to carry out further MEC interviews.

3.9.1 Justification for rejecting some sample informants

From the initial email that was sent out to 300 UG students a response rate of 10% was recorded. These 30 students were later reduced to 19 that were useable for the empirical data collection (14 for main interview and 5 for the pilot study). It was decided not to use 11 individuals from the initial cohort of 30 due to the fact that they did not meet the criteria. Upon questioning the 11 individuals it became clear they did not really understand the subject matter or had not personally visited the site mentioned.

3.9.2 Trustworthiness

It is important to ensure reliability and validity within any form of research. “Reliability is the extent to which measurement is free from variable errors and validity is concerned with the extent to which those measurements are free from systematic error” (Brannick and Coghlan 2007). The key methodological format of this research was qualitative and it was reviewed against Lincoln and Guba (1985) four criteria for ensuring trustworthiness, these being credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability. Decrop (2004) is at pains to point out that, additional rigour can be brought to the methodological process by ensuring that trustworthiness of research is present. The next part of this section will detail how trustworthiness has been ensured.

Credibility is itself an evaluation of how reliable the research findings are and whether or not they represent a credible interpretation of the information or data from the participants involved (Lincoln & Guba 1985; 296). To address issues associated with credibility a number of mechanisms were employed. Firstly looking at issues associated with credibility, the

author acknowledges the possibility to influence the interviewee whilst collecting the empirical data (Cousin 2009). Whilst not done intentionally, this can often happen due to subconscious actions of the interviewer and possibly influence the type of response. The notion of influencing participant responses often referred to as researcher-participant power dynamics is discussed at length by Gubrium & Holstein (2002). The issue here is that often interviewees feel implicitly required to provide responses that often mirror similar values and motivations to that of the interviewer. This can result in bias and has ramifications for the accuracy of any data gathered (Robson 2002). Issues associated with preventing researcher influence are discussed at length by Patton (1990) and more recently Maxwell (2012) who identify two key fundamental errors associated with influencing research, these are :-

Researcher presence is the presence of the researcher when subconsciously affecting the interviewee. Patton (1990) notes in some cases the presence of the interviewer can be somewhat over bearing or even intimidating and influence the data generated. To minimise this Patton (1990) suggests a period of time for both parties to get to know one another so that confidence and trust levels can develop. Within this research this was addressed by the utilisation of a brief orientation period in which the nature of the research was explained and a discussion of the interviewees interests were discussed, in addition to which the first five interview were monitored by a third party (Dr Peter Schofield) in an attempt to vet my interview style and to identify any researcher influence. This worked well in ensuring that an atmosphere of trust developed and that any researcher influence was minimised.

Value imposition is where the researcher values influence responses. This is associated with researchers unknowingly imposing values and beliefs on to the interviewee, resulting in the influencing of any data collected. In an attempt to reduce this; the author carried out five pilot interviews employing a pre-approved format that had been agreed pre interview. The purpose of this format was to reduce any possibility of value imposition, and post each of the five

pilot interviews a feedback session took place between the interviewer and Dr Peter Schofield re any possible interview format changes. Value imposition can also be reduced by the manner in which the interview is administered. Glesne (1999) makes mention of professional distancing, in an attempt to ensure that participants are able to express their views openly and free from influence. The principles of Glesne (1999) approach were utilised to ensure that any data collected was free from the interviewers influence, all participants were encouraged to express their thoughts in an open and free environment, the success of this was evidenced in the rich array of qualitative data that was generated.

Secondly and during the early parts of the data collection process as so as to ensure to ensure credibility the use of a peer debriefer was employed (Lincoln & Guba 1985). Dr Peter Schofield assumed this role and acted as Devils Advocate often questioning and seeking clarification on issues associated with research questions, ethics, methodology and other research issues. Dr Schofields role was consistent with that as detailed in the literature by Lincoln & Guba (1985) and more recently by Lincoln et al (2012).

Thirdly, to ensure credibility the author carried out a number of pilot studies, this was intended to aid credibility in a twofold manner. Firstly the pilot enabled the author to become familiar with the process of carrying out the MEC approach to collecting data, ensuring that the style and manner of collection and nuances associated with the technique were adhered to. Finally the pilot enabled an additional tier of quality assurance to be built in as Dr Peter Schofield not only sat in and monitored the pilot interviews, but also carried out his own MEC analysis of the interview. At the end of each interview we were able to compare our interviews for content, by the third interview a high degree of the commonality existed between Dr Schofields interview notes and my own. This was further corroborated with the pilot study interviewee. With the addition of two more pilot studies (five in total), it was felt

that the author was sufficiently accomplished in administering the MEC analysis approach and recording the subsequent commentary.

The utilisation of members checking as advocated by Lincoln & Guba (1985) was also employed to aid credibility. Members checking is a qualitative tool primarily used to ensure the accuracy, credibility, validity, and transferability of empirical research. The approach often takes a subsection of empirical data and this is shown to members of the sample so as to check the authenticity of the data, the subsequent feedback / comments act as a check on the accuracy of the data collected and of the suitability of administering the technique. In this case all five of the interviewees were asked to view their own completed interview results. All of the five individuals were of the opinion that the data was interpreted in an appropriate manner and reflective of their own experiences of visiting dark sites. In addition the five candidates surveyed commented upon the credible interpretation of the data and how it had commonalities with their own experiences.

To further ensure credibility, all interviews were held in a safe and confidential setting, free from the common gaze. Full permission from each participant was obtained before the start of each interview, it was decided not to audio record the conversations, as a number of interviewees had requested not to be recorded and so as to ensure continuity it was decided not to audio record any of the interviews. At the beginning of each interview session, an introductory session was used to explain the nature and process of the interview and at the end of each interview; all notes made from the session were immediately read back to the interviewee so as to ensure that what had been recorded was accurate and reflective of the session (Decrop 2004).

To address transferability, members checking was employed (this was discussed in the previous section). Members checking ensures that third parties check for accuracy, any data

already recorded. The issuing and checking of the results by a third party serves as quality assurance tool against which the results can be corroborated, the comments from which add validity to the interpretation process. In this case three individuals were asked to view the results from a number of interviews, all of the individuals response detailed how the results from the interview had commonalities for visiting dark sites. Transferability was further enhanced by a form of thematic analysis based around Rokeach values (1973). The use of Rokeach values enables common themes to emerge from the data. The structure of the results has enabled a framework, from which others can use, in an attempt to repeat as close as possible the techniques associated with this data collection.

Looking at issues associated with dependability and conformability, often researchers quote an independent audit trail of their own research as evidence of good practice. The audit trail may choose to investigate original transcripts, data analysis sheets, field journals, diary entries and related information sources as evidence of dependability and conformability. For the purpose of this research, the author has allowed his supervisor (Dr Schofield) extensive access to all data sources and he thoroughly examined all related documentation ensuring that the audit trail established, been fully reviewed.

3.9.3 Reliability and validity

The use of reliability and validity has traditionally been rooted within the positivist research paradigm and some have argued (Golafshani 2003) that they need to be modified for use within the naturalistic realm. From an external perspective the academic literature associated with data collection, namely the methodology has a multitude of differing views associated with the notion of reliability and validity, in particular with research that is qualitative in nature. Brannick & Coghlan (2007) note that both reliability and validity are associated with any form of measurement which is free from errors, the former being used to avoid variable errors and the latter being employed to reduce systematic errors; when carrying out research.

Altheide & Johnson (1998) note that reliability and validity is of particular importance to the quantitative paradigm and that it has limited relevance to the more qualitative based research matter. In contrast Patton (2002) debates the importance of such tools in qualitative research and argues they should be given much consideration at design stage. Guba & Lincoln (1981) reiterate the importance of engineering reliability and validity into the methodological process so as to ensure trustworthiness and legitimacy of those data collection tools employed. Whilst not in agreement with Altheide & Johnson (1998), Guba & Lincoln (1981) do recognise the differences associated with both qualitative and quantitative paradigms and therefore advocate differing measures for determining reliability and validity; within the quantitative and qualitative surrounds.

Positivism or quantitative research utilises experimental methods to test hypothetical generalisations (Hoepfl, 1997; Allwood 2012) and emphasis is placed upon measurement of relationships between data. Bogdan & Biklen (1988) detail how terminology like *variables* and *populations* are the lexicon of quantitative research and by analysing data in a mathematical manner, relationships can be measured, with results presented in a statistical manner. Quantitative research is underpinned by the positivist paradigm that views the world as being constructed by measurable / observable phenomena, Glesne & Peshkin (1992) do however note that ‘social facts have an objective reality’ and that measuring such facts employing a positivist paradigm can be problematic. Crocker & Algina (1986) comment that the notion of measurement relates to the allocation of numbers to events or objects according to predefined rules, resulting in the collection of hard data. Such an approach also attempts to deconstruct phenomena into manageable, bite sized components of data that can be measured or placed into predefined categories. Winter (2000) notes that such data should be replicable to like subjects in similar scenarios. Therefore, any instrument designed and used in quantitative research should be employed in a standardised manner in conjunction with

predefined procedures, so as to ensure that the test can be employed repeatedly and impartially.

Validity has also been traditionally housed within a positivist stable and characteristically associated with terms like truth, facts, deduction, hard data, empirical analysis and universal laws (Winter 2000; Punch 2013). Validity is associated with the nature of data collection, with specific reference to the appropriateness of any data collection tool / instrument and its suitability in measuring its intended subject matter. As with earlier discussions, some have argued (Bryman 2008) that validity in the context of quantitative research is different from that of validity in qualitative research; some go as far as to say that validity is not applicable to qualitative research (Golafshani 2003; Oluwatayo 2012). Validity ensures that research truly measures its intended audience or subject matter and the level of accuracy associated with the result obtained. In this way the researcher attempts to design and use a research instrument that allows the researcher to hit the intended research subject. Wainer & Braun (1998) describe validity within the quantitative context as 'construct validity', the construct being the type of question or concept that informs the type of data to be collected and the specific method for collecting this data. Furthermore, Wainer & Braun (1998) argue that by employing a test in an attempt to validate the research, the quantitative researcher arguably reduces the validity of the data.

At present, reliability and validity within the quantitative forum show heavy emphasis upon: reliability (are the results replicable?) and validity (are the methods employed to measure appropriate / accurate and do they measure the intended audience correctly?).

That said, the concepts of reliability and validity have differing viewpoint when discussed in the qualitative environment. This is to say that qualitative researchers are at pains to point out that the definition of reliability and validity, as often defined by the quantitative research

community do not apply to the qualitative research paradigm. Glesne & Peshkin (1992) argue that issues associated with replicability in results do not concern the qualitative researcher, rather accuracy, integrity and transferability of results. Winter (2000) & Hoepfl (1997) reiterate the point that accuracy, integrity and transferability are the key viewing tools through which qualitative researchers evaluate such findings. Kuhn (1970) argues that in this context the two research styles are fundamentally differing paradigms.

Reliability is essentially associated with the manner by which results are consistent over a predefined period of time and remain accurate in association with the population under study. In addition to which the results should be reproducible when instructed by a like methodological framework. It is then that the data collection tool / instrument is defined as being reliable. Within the quantitative framework Kirk & Miller (1986) identify the following components as the hallmark of reliability, these are:

- . the manner by which a measurement remains the same of a given period of time;
- . the degree of stability that the measurement shows over a sustained period of time;
- . the commonalities of measurements over a particular time frame.

Such observations detail how reliability within a quantitative context is based around continuity of result over a sustained period of time. Winter (2000) and more recently Oluwatayo (2012) note that reliability and validity are primarily tools of the positivist epistemology. This is to say that reliability in the context of the quantitative methodology is associated with the notion of regularity, dependability and uniformity; whereby which any results can be replicated. Lincoln & Guba (1985) put forward the notion that real reliability can only succeed with the cooperation of validity and without validity there can be no real reliability. In addition to reliability and validity, a growing tendency within methodological circles is to also place importance on dependability. Guba & Lincoln (1989) detail the

importance of dependability as comparable to that of reliability and validity and its purpose is to ensure that all data collected is audited in an accurate as possible manner. Lincon & Guba (1985) advocate the auditing approach when collecting primary data and Bryman (2008) details how any data collected should be stored in an appropriate manner, including timelines associated with the differing phases of the research, interviewee selection, transcripts of interviews and any data processing. The important point here is that dependability should ensure trustworthiness and replicability in findings. This is to say that if another researcher employed the same population group and methods, that dependent upon the degree of dependability and accuracy, they should be able to replicate the same finding of the previous study, the analogy can be drawn here with a recipe for a cake; that if followed correctly should produce the same results. The higher the degree of dependability the more likely the research is to be accepted as being accurate and shows the importance of uniform data collection methods and analysis in an attempt to show transparency in the methodological process where dependability is key.

Reliability is often mentioned when testing quantitative research (Golafshani 2003), but clearly can also be applied to qualitative research. Any study that is qualitative in nature sets out to make sense of something that is puzzling (Eisner 1991); reliability in qualitative studies is more akin to generating understanding, as opposed to reliability in a quantitative study; that sets out with the purpose of explaining a collection of research data (Stenbacka 2001). To be guaranteed of reliability within a qualitative framework, trustworthiness must be guaranteed and this is at the heart of reliability and validity (Seale 1999). Lincoln & Guba (1985) emphasise the importance of reliability, some have argued that reliability is associated with measurements and therefore has little relevance to qualitative research (Stenbacka 2001). This point is further developed by Kirk & Miller (1986) who suggest that pure validity in the context of qualitative research is not possible (Willig 2013).

Validity as discussed within the confines of qualitative research is not a single fixed concept, but a multidimensional check list for a piece of research. Creswell & Miller (2000) suggest that validity can be greatly influenced by the researchers own perception of what is validity, with the researcher developing their own terms to describe validity, these often include quality, rigour and trustworthiness (Davies & Dodd 2002, Mishler 2000). Others including (Stenbacka 2001) suggest that the notion of validity should be redefined for qualitative research as its present definition carries many connotations associated with quantitative school of research.

Expanding further the discussion associated with reliability and validity within the qualitative forum, Elliott et al (1999) note that ever since the emergence of qualitative research (particularly within their field of psychology) many researchers have attempted to define what is good qualitative research; these include Fischer (1977), Kvale, (1996), Mishler (1990) and Stiles (1993). To illustrate examples in the literature that exemplify good quality research, we can firstly identify the works of Lincoln & Guba (1985) who in their early works catalogue a number of principles associates with ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research. Decrop (2004) notes that additional rigour is brought to qualitative research by ensuring that any data research has a high degree of trustworthiness. Lincoln & Guba (1985) have adapted Cook & Campbell's (1979) research evaluation list, resulting in the development of four criteria for establishing trustworthiness in qualitative research; these include credibility (credibility is associated with the level of truthfulness associated with the findings, "are the findings worth paying attention to" Lincoln & Guba (1985; 290), we can also add that credibility details the level at which the data obtained from the participants original data set is credible), transferability (transferability is associated with level at which the findings can be applied to another group or setting, put simply this is the level to which

the findings can be applied or exported beyond the confines of the research), dependability (dependability is associated with the regularity and reproducible nature of the findings, this relates to the levels of quality associated with data collection, analysis and theory creation) and conformability (conformability is associated with the level of neutrality associated with the findings and a measure of how well the findings are supported by any data collected).

Still within the arena of literature that exemplifies good research practices (within a qualitative setting), the works of Packer & Addison (1989) has borrowed much from the philosophical literature associated with truth, in an attempt to ensure consistency when evaluating qualitative based data. The utilisation of external evidence checks in the form of triangulation is one such methods that can ensure trustworthiness. Others including Hamlyn (1970) advocated the use of consensus mechanisms so as to ensure trustworthiness. This method employed the use of research teams to review sets of data and communicate their understanding of the data, so as to ensure continuity of representation and data findings. More recently Stiles (1993) and more recently Sousa (2014) have advocated the use of triangulation, testimonial validation via participant feedback and group consensus mechanisms across researchers, in an attempt to organise quality standards, so as to ensure trustworthiness of qualitative research, characteristics of such mechanisms are present within this research.

3.9.4 Chapter summary

This chapter has discussed the methods employed to collect and analyse the primary data. Issues associated with the role of the paradigm in guiding the research and the ontological and epistemological basis of the research have been addressed. The data collection style namely Means End Chain (MEC) analysis has been discussed and reference to the thematic analysis style employed (Rokeach Values) is also justified. Issues associated with each of the methodological tools employed in the collection of the primary data have been debated and

issues regarding validity and reliability of this research have been explained. The next chapter will discuss the results from the interviews.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

4.0 Chapter overview

This chapter discusses, the 14 interviews that were conducted with subjects who had experienced 1 of the 7 stages of darkness on Stones' (2006) dark spectrum (see Table 10).

The chapter concludes with a review of the results.

Table 10. Interview types and venue

Interview	Venue	Stones classification
<p>1 & 2</p> <p>Interviewee 1 – Female, 45 years, visiting venue alone</p> <p>Interviewee.</p> <p>2 – Male 33, visiting venue with children.</p>	<p>Interview 1. Scream @ Madame Tussauds, London (UK) (female 45).</p> <p>Interview 2. The York Dungeon, York (UK) (male 33)</p>	<p>DARK FUN FACTORIES (lightest)</p> <p>Dark fun factories are visitor site / attractions with high emphasis upon mock morbidity, commercialisation and entertainment. Many of these sites / attractions charge for entry.</p>
<p>3 & 4</p> <p>Interviewee 3 – Male, 41 years, visiting venue with children.</p> <p>Interviewee 4 – Female 33, visiting venue alone.</p>	<p>Interview 3. British Museum, Egyptian exhibition, London (UK) (male 41).</p> <p>Interview 4. The International Slavery Museum, Liverpool (UK) (female 33).</p>	<p>DARK EXHIBITIONS (lighter)</p> <p>Dark exhibitions are associated with commercialisation mixed with education. A key component associated with this kind of exhibition is the blend between death, education and some entertainment components.</p>
<p>5 & 6</p> <p>Interviewee 5 – Male, 58 years, visiting venue alone.</p> <p>Interviewee 6 – Female 53, visiting venue with loved one.</p>	<p>Interview 5. Robben Island, (South Africa) (male 58).</p> <p>Interview 6. Alcatraz, (USA) (female 53).</p>	<p>DARK DUNGEONS (light)</p> <p>Dark dungeon represents those sites associated with bygone penal incarceration. Many of these sites are former prisons or courthouses with emphasis upon education, entertainment and some merchandising.</p>

Interview	Venue	Stones classification
<p>7 & 8</p> <p>Interviewee 7– Female, 38 years, visiting site alone.</p> <p>Interviewee 8 – Female 20, visiting site with mother and father.</p>	<p>Interview 7. Aberfan, (UK) (female 38).</p> <p>Interview 8. WW2 Graves, Dunkirk Town (France) (female 20).</p>	<p>DARK RESTING PLACES (mid-range)</p> <p>Dark resting places are primarily associated with cemeteries and graves, some commercial elements may exist as in the case of the ‘Dearly Departed’ tours in Hollywood that’s tours the graves of the rich and famous.</p>
<p>9 & 10</p> <p>Interviewee 9– Male, 22 years, visiting site with girlfriend.</p> <p>Interviewee 10 –Male 42, visiting location alone.</p>	<p>Interview 9. Ground Zero, (USA) (male 22).</p> <p>Interview 10. Saddleworth Moor, (UK) (male 42).</p>	<p>DARK SHRINES (dark)</p> <p>Dark shrines tend to be associated with acts of remembrance and respect / reverence for those who have recently died. Such shrines may be in a relatively close chronology to the present day and may also take on a quasi-political aspect to their presentation. Such shrines can be formally or informally constructed.</p>
<p>11 & 12</p> <p>Interviewee 11– Male, 22 years, visiting location alone.</p> <p>Interviewee 12 –Male 21, visiting location with father</p>	<p>Interview 11. Nicosia, (Cyprus) (male 22).</p> <p>Interview 12. Medieval battle sites, varied (UK) (male 21).</p>	<p>DARK CONFLICT SITE (darker)</p> <p>Dark conflict sites are associated with acts of warfare and battlefields. Many of the sites have education and commemorative overtones.</p>
<p>13 & 14</p> <p>Interviewee 13– Male, 20 years, visiting site alone.</p> <p>Interviewee 14 –Female 50, visiting location alone</p>	<p>Interview 13. Auschwitz, (Poland) (male 20).</p> <p>Interview 14. Tuol Sleng genocide museum S-21, Phnom Penh (female 50).</p>	<p>DARK CAMPS OF GENOCIDE (darkest)</p> <p>Dark camps of genocide are those site where state sponsored / sanctioned genocide has taken place, Rwanda, Cambodia and Auschwitz are examples of such sites.</p>

4.1 Interviews 1 & 2. Dark fun factories (the results from interview 1 & 2 have been combined in the table below, a corresponding number associated with each interviewee is used to denote each interviewees response). Dark fun factories are visitor site / attractions with high emphasis upon mock morbidity, commercialisation and entertainment.

Table 11. Interviews 1 & 2. Dark fun factories

<u>Attributes</u>	<u>Consequences</u>	<u>Instrumental value</u> (IV)	<u>Terminal value</u> (TV)	<u>Souvenir collection</u>
Attraction has a web site/ability to pre-book online (1&2)	Safety & security . save time (1) Saved time (2)	Independence (1&2)	Family security (1) Freedom (2)	Interview 1 , brochure purchased at site, pictures taken of family uploaded to Facebook and shared electronically with friends and relatives post visit.
Site atmosphere (artificially created)/ artificial morbidity (1&2)	Felt scared (1&2)	Facilitates love (1) Imagination (2)	Happiness (1) Feels excited (2)	Interview 2 , no physical souvenirs collected; instead use of memory was employed. Experience is then relayed to friends verbally post visit.
Stimulated discussion with family, must remember visit (1) Educational themes (2)	Development of happiness and positive feelings as a result of attaining knowledge (1&2)	Intellect & empowerment (1) Happiness (2)	Social recognition for head of family and other family members (1) Social recognition (2)	

Interviews 1 and 2 were representative of the lightest stage of the spectrum. The first interview was undertaken with a visitor from Madame Tussauds, a tourist attraction based in Baker Street London which displays waxworks models of famous people from the world of royalty, showbiz, sport, film stars, and infamous murderers. Within the London Madame Tussauds attraction a separate exhibition showcases infamous evil doings from history and those responsible for such acts. This exhibition is called ‘Scream @ Madame Tussauds’. The Madame Tussauds location has little real geographical association with the items they exhibit and where it does link, it is fairly general. For example, the Scream exhibition is nowhere

near the Whitechapel location where many of Jack The Ripper's victims were murdered; that said a tenable link is made between the exhibition site and Whitechapel. The second interview took place with a visitor from The York Dungeon which is part of a wider entertainments package owned by Merlin Entertainments. The location of each dungeon site with the UK is used to inform the content of each attraction, so for example the York Dungeon makes much of the ghost of a Roman soldier from the locality, the impact of the plague on the area and the alleged siting of Dick Turpin within the vicinity of York and his subsequent execution.

A number of themes emerge from interviews 1 and 2. Firstly, both interviewee 1 and 2 and two expressed the importance of viewing the site / location by electronic means prior to their visit which was normally facilitated by the internet. The provision to view the site by electronic means (normally the internet) or to pre-purchase tickets was deemed as an important attribute in both interview 1 and 2. This presence of technology pre arrival was deemed as being important as it greatly saved time in the information search process; in both interviews one and two the ability to save time was an important consequence as reflected in the following statements

"I don't like any surprises when visiting attractions with my family, I like to know where the car park is and where the toilets are. I don't like being told where to go and what to do; doing what I want makes me feel in control, happy and safe".

Interview 1, female, aged 45

"I always like to plan ahead, my Mother taught us to value time and not waist it, I can always remember her saying, don't waste time, as time is money".

Interview 2, male, aged 33

In the case of interviewee one the ability for information to be quickly and easily searched before the visit enabled interviewee 1 to feel in control and unrushed. The notion of doing

things at one's own pace and having pre-requisite knowledge about the attraction was deemed as being important.

Clearly, information obtained about the attraction, via the internet greatly facilitated the visit ensuring that the family were not held up in queues or left unsure about the operational dynamics associated with the visit. The importance of the family unit is clearly displayed within interview 1 and the level to which information was used to facilitate the visit should not be under estimated as its acquisition ensured safety and security, albeit in the mind of the mother who was tasked with organising the trip. In the case of interviewee 2, a key consequence associated with using the internet was to save time and this possibly originates from the individuals own parents (in this case his mother) who was a stickler for good time keeping and who associated time wasting, with the financial equivalent; 'time is money'. This clearly had set a precedent in the individual's life and enabled them to be in control of time and subsequently feel empowered.

In terms of the importance of independence when selecting a site to visit, both interviewee 1 and 2 commented upon how important it was to plan and research the trip at one's own pace with no involvement from third parties such as travel intermediaries or agents. In both cases, the independence of choice (an instrumental value) when selecting a site to visit was greatly enhanced by the internet. In interview 1, the ability to view the attraction pre visit by electronic means, meant that the family were in control as the layout and design of the attraction could be assessed pre visit, ensuring that the trip organiser (the mother) felt in control. In interview 2, emphasis was placed on the importance of using electronic means such as the internet as a mechanism to check information associated with the visit pre visit as it saves time (identifying car parking provision etc). Interestingly both interviewee 1 and 2

emphasised the importance of independence as requirement of the visit (an instrumental value) this primarily resulting from the pre visit information search that enabled both interviewee 1 and 2 to plan ahead and to do exactly as they wanted to whilst at site. In the case of interviewee two not only did the feeling of independence make the visitor feel strong and reliable in their own eyes, it also made them feel positive as they were upholding a family value, as dictated by his mother, the matriarch of the family.

“I always like to plan ahead, my Mother taught us to value time and not waist it, I can always remember her saying, don’t waste time, as time is money”.

Interview 2, male, aged 33

The independence received from pre planning (via electronic sources) resulted in similar terminal values for both interviewee 1 and 2. In the case of interviewee 1, family security (a terminal value) emerged, as the trip organiser, in this case the mother, felt in control of the whole visit, pre arrival and during the visit, resulting in happiness and ensuring the family unit was secure during the visit. In the case of interviewee 2, the terminal value was freedom, resulting from the feeling of self-control and the subsequent need to control one’s own destiny without the involvement of third parties (guides & attraction personnel).

Whilst at site, a number of patterns emerged, primarily associated with the use of imagination as an enhancer of experience. Interviewee 1 and 2 made much of the importance of atmosphere / morbidity at site (an attribute). This resulted in both interviewee 1 and 2 feeling scared, albeit in an enjoyable manner (a consequence), interviewee 1 commented that she liked to see her family scared as it created a positive family feeling associated with togetherness and love (an instrumental value) whilst interviewee two noted how being scared, facilitated his imagination (an instrumental value) and caused him to imagine the time period

in which the attraction was set, the people, their lives and subsequent histories. Such experiences whilst at site caused interviewee 1 to describe how she felt increased happiness (a terminal value) whilst spending time with her family at site, seeing the family enjoying themselves and acting positively to one another. The subsequent actions associated with feeling scared, caused a level of enjoyment, happiness and togetherness, associated with the group experience of being scared. This experience also created a degree of nostalgia for interviewee one who detailed how her own father used to take great delight in frightening her when she was a child. This was seen as a positive experience by the whole family who became closer while being scared, including the mother who delighted in seeing her family enjoying a shared experience.

“I love it when we are together as a family, more so when we are enjoying a laugh or joke, or even being scared. This always reminds me of my dad, he was great, always making me laugh or making me jump out of my skin”.

Interview 1, female, aged 45

Finally, interviewee 2 detailed how the experience at the site resulted in driving his imagination to consider a whole host of issues associated with those individuals who lived during that time period and this would result in interviewee 2 feeling excited and contributing toward creating an exciting life (a terminal value). Interviewee two made much of the use of their own imagination in aiding the experience; this was regularly employed during the visit. Interestingly, when the interviewee was a child, his Uncle, a retired Police Officer, talked to him about unsolved murder cases. This fuelled the interviewee's imagination and this stayed with him well into his adult life and has greatly contributed towards his interest in the macabre, including murder mystery. The utilisation of imagination at the site is also another interesting factor which the visitor heavily relied upon to enhance the visit. In this case, interviewee 2 would use his imagination to travel back in time to better appreciate the conditions in which people lived and the horrors associated with the plague. In some cases

the interviewee would imagine himself as an investigator trying to solve mysteries or attempting to apply rational explanations to unexplainable phenomenon. The employment and facilitation of imagination at the site would often stay with the interviewee weeks after the visit and would contribute towards them feeling excited, continually replaying the images from the visit in their mind, in an attempt to better understand the many exhibited themes on display.

“I love thinking about the differing time periods that exist at the attraction, I often imagine myself meeting people from a specific time period and asking them about their lives, it really excites me and this experience will stay with me for a week or so after the visit”.

Interview 2, male, aged 33

Looking further at the commonalities and differences between interviewee 1 and 2, a key attribute at each site for both interviewees was the importance of educational benefits and the ability of the artefacts offered at site to stimulate discussion during and post the visit. In the case of interviewee 1, the mother stressed the importance of the family discussing artefacts whilst at the site and for the artefacts to later be used as a focus for discussion. In this case the shared experience of place, against the backdrop of enjoyment and the pursuit of knowledge was important for interviewee 1. In the interview it was clear to see that the mother had much love for her family and was determined to give them all the benefits of life that had not been afforded to her as a child. In this context, education of her children was very important and a key component of the attraction was the relevance of attraction content and its ability to facilitate debate during and after the visit (an attribute). In the case of interviewee 2, a similar attribute of site was identified and this was the importance of educational themes running throughout the entire attraction. In terms of the educational themes that exist at the attraction, interviewee 2 placed much importance upon this and said that it greatly contributed towards the visit. The inclusion of an educationally themed

component of the attraction such as the plague greatly enhanced the visit. Likewise both interviewees 1 and 2 identified similar consequences associated with the visit, in the case of interviewee 1, the mother felt happy knowing that the visit had educational benefits for her children (consequence) and in the case of interviewee 2 he felt positive about himself as he was gaining knowledge (a consequence).

In terms of the instrumental values; interviewee 1 detailed the developing intellect of her children as of key importance and interviewee 2 identified happiness as an instrumental value resulting from the feeling of empowerment, post the acquisition of knowledge. Interestingly the acquisition of knowledge, in the case of interviewee 1 (hers and her family's knowledge) and in the case of interviewee 2 (his own knowledge) was possibly less to do with the physical acquisition of knowledge for intellectual purposes and possibly more to do with the benefits and spin offs associated with the ability to impress their peers. In the case of interviewee 1 the mother felt empowered knowing that her children were increasing their knowledge, something that could be showcased in the presence of the mothers friends and relatives resulting in social recognition for the mother and family (a terminal value).

"I love it when my kids show off their knowledge to friends and family, especially when I receive part of the praise, this makes me feel informed and recognised as being knowledgeable".

Interview 1, female, aged 45

In the case of interviewee 2, he would take much delight post visit, informing his peers of his extensive knowledge related to the history of the attractions he had just visited, resulting in social recognition (a terminal value).

"I love telling my mates about the visit, it gives me the opportunity to showcase my extensive historical knowledge, they often call me brain box".

Interview 2, male, aged 33

The actions associated with the acquisition of knowledge to impress one's own peers was important to both interviewee 1 and 2 with the spoken word being used extensively to better shape and detail their experiences. This subsequently improves their own image or that of their nearest and dearest (in the case of interviewee 1, her children) and improves their image within their own community, as being informed and knowledgeable.

"I love it when my friends and neighbours say how clever we are (me and the kids) I feel really intelligent, almost superior to my friends".

Interview 1, female, aged 45

In terms of souvenir collection at site, interviewee one collected souvenirs in a twofold manner; firstly in the form of a brochure and secondly photographs. The brochure was purchased at site and used to inform the visit, the photographs were taken at site and stored electronically and shared via Facebook post visit. Approximately 10 pictures were taken, all of which were of the family. In the case of interview 1, Facebook was employed to store and showcase the photographs from the site; these were shared electronically with friends and relatives. This also resulted in enhancing the interviewees' own social recognition both in the family unit and within the wider extended family (a terminal value). Interestingly, in interview 2, no physical souvenirs were collected and instead memory was employed as a means of archiving the visit. Continuing on and still within the confines of all things narrative, interviewee 2 made much of the importance of conversation and storytelling as the main methods of disseminating information post the visit.

In conclusion and within the lightest area of the dark spectrum, both interviewee 1 and 2 shared many commonalities. Firstly pre visit search using the internet was common to both interviewees as was the importance of independence and freedom to research and plan the visit unhindered and without the constraints of travel intermediaries. At the site both interviewee 1 and 2 emphasised the importance of imagination enhancement and collegiality associated with being scared and the importance of an educational element to facilitate learning and comprehension. The one main fundamental difference that exists between interviewee 1 and 2 relates to souvenir collection at the site. Interviewee 1 would collect brochures and pictures which would be later stored electronically and distributed via social platforms, whereas interviewee 2 preferred to collect memories (autobiographical memories) that would be alluded to at a later date when relating the visit to friends and family. Post visit both interviewees agreed on the importance of storytelling as a mechanism to showcase their family talent and personal knowledge in the presence of their peers.

4.2 Interviews 3 & 4. Dark exhibitions (the results from interview 3 & 4 have been combined in the table below, a corresponding number associated with each interviewee is used to denote each interviewees response) Dark exhibitions are associated with commercialisation mixed with education.

Table 12. Interviews 3 & 4. Dark exhibitions

<u>Attributes</u>	<u>Consequences</u>	<u>Instrumental value (IV)</u>	<u>Terminal value (TV)</u>	<u>Souvenir collection</u>
Has a website, must be educational (3&4)	Educational (3&4)	Intellect (3) Ambition (4)	Wisdom (3) Freedom (4)	Interview 3, Pictures taken of family uploaded to Facebook and shared electronically with friends and relatives post visit.
Ease of access (3) Non-personal methods of interpretation (4)	Reassurance (3) Time consuming (4)	Independence (3&4)	Family security (3) Sense of achievement (4)	Interview 4, No physical souvenirs collected; instead use of memory was employed. Experience is then relayed to friends verbally post visit.
Can take photographs at site (3) Must have a follow up website (4)	Facilitates creativity (3) Increased understanding (4)	Imagination (3) Forgiveness (4)	Social recognition (3) Wisdom (4)	

Interviews 3 and 4 were representative of the lighter stage of the spectrum. The third interview was undertaken with a visitor from the British Museum which is sited at Great Russell St, London and is associated with human history and culture. It has an extensive collection of artefacts from all continents documenting the chronology of human culture. The British Museum houses a large collection of Egyptian antiquities; collectively the artefacts illustrate every aspect of the cultures of the Nile Valley from 10,000 BC through to 12th century AD, a period of approximately 11,000 years. The British Museum, Egyptian exhibition is a permanent exhibition. The fourth interview took place with a visitor from The International Slavery Museum is based at Albert Dock, Liverpool, UK. The attraction is part of a larger Merseyside Maritime Museum that charts the city's historical shipping legacy.

Within the Maritime Museum, the International Slavery Museum details the horrors and political developments that created and supported slavery and its subsequent abolition.

Interviews 3 and 4 represent the lighter regions of the dark spectrum and are characteristic of those exhibitions and sites that incorporate some education and entertainment / commercial morbidity. As a starting point both interviewees expressed the importance of viewing the site / location by electronic means pre-visit and that the website content must have an educational element. In the case of interviewee 3 ‘importance of control’ should not be underestimated with the younger family members wanting an active part in checking out and viewing the museum’s website before arrival, so as to get a better feel for the content of the attraction (the attraction must have a website, an attribute).

Looking at factors that influenced the visit, it was interesting to note that the choice of visit in the case of interviewee three was been greatly influenced by media, in this case the film ‘The Mummy’, played a key role in shaping the visit. This is reflected in the following statement

‘The kids are fanatical about the Rock (an actor); they love anything he stars in including the Mummy’.

Interview 3, male, aged 41

Interestingly, whilst the medium of film has shaped and influenced the family choice in selecting such an attraction to visit, the wider educational themes at site have also wetted their appetite to visit. Firstly, the educational theme has the ability to facilitate the children’s interest and subsequently educate them on all things Egyptian (consequence) and secondly, it enables the father to feel happy, safe in the knowledge that the visit has an educational spin off.

“I always feel that a visit to any attractions should also have an educational slant to it, this makes me feel happy as the kids are learning something”.

Interview 3, male, aged 41

A key instrumental value here is intellect, and this can be viewed in the context of the whole family improving their knowledge and becoming in part intellectual, albeit in the eyes of the father. This ultimately results in the acquisition of wisdom (terminal value).

“The visit makes me feel educated and informed; it is also educational for the kids. The notion that we are all become educated together gives me a real buzz”.

Interview 3, male, aged 41

Similarly in the case of interviewee 4, education played a key role in shaping the visit. For interviewee 4 the attraction must have a historical / quasi political theme running through its core (attribute) and those attractions with no real educational base are of no interest to the interviewee. It is interesting to note that a strong schooling in history and parental guidance during her adolescent years has greatly facilitated her interest in history. Looking further into the activities at the site, the visit to the museum was itself an educational experience, intended to inform her knowledge (consequence) associated with the time period. Aligned next to this, the interviewee pointed out that she was at present very unhappy with her job and planned to go back to college and eventually study for a degree. In her eyes, by attending attractions that were educational she would be adding to her already substantial knowledge and potentially enable her to realise her long held ambition (instrumental value) to attend College and possibly University. This would then lead to possible freedom (terminal value) from the daily shackles of an unrewarding job. This is reflected in her following comments.

“I don’t like my job, in fact I hate it, my ambition is to study for a couple of A ‘levels and eventually go to University and study history. By visiting sites like this I feel that I am improving my knowledge and possibly become more educated”.

Interview 4, female, aged 33

In terms of attributes associated with the site visit, interviewee 3 detailed how accessibility (attribute) was important; a possible reason for this and something that was alluded to in the interview was a disability that the father has. The provision for full site easy access enabled the father to feel reassured (consequence) as no surprises or complications would unfold and impact on the family enjoyment at site. The ability to be in control and have full knowledge of the visitor site and its various components made the father feel independent (instrumental value), in control and not a burden on his family and ultimately secure, safe in the knowledge that his family would be okay to engage with the attraction albeit at arm's length from their father. Family security was identified here as a terminal value. Not only was full site access important for the father in terms of ease of access, it was also noted by the father that he wanted his family to feel free to explore the site without the shackles of corporate control. By this and upon further discussion the father detailed how autonomy at site and the freedom for his family not to be inhibited and not dictated to by the authorities (in terms of what they could and could not do) at site was key to the enjoyment of the visit. Looking specifically at the visit, interviewee 4 made explicit the importance of freedom and autonomy in decision making whilst experiencing the museum, with issues associated with full site access at museum were of key importance (this has commonalities with the importance of access in interview 3).

In terms of time spent at the location, interviewee 4 emphasised the importance of engaging in the tour at her own pace, absorbing all that the museum had to offer. This allowed her to appreciate and understand the subject matter, avoiding the possible spin or incorrect interpretation that a guide might put on the tour. Whilst a self-guided trail at one's own pace with non-personal methods of interpretation (attribute) was key to the visit, as it enabled the interviewee to stop and read in detail every component of the tour, this also had a down side. This was the amount of time taken by the interviewee to complete the tour, often running into

4 or 5 hours at a time. Whilst the museum visit was a very time consuming activity (consequence), interviewee 4 would have it no other way, feeling that it was time well spent in the search for knowledge, resulting in a feeling of independence (instrumental value) and sense of achievement (terminal value) after a very long day spent at the museum.

In terms of the use of technology at the site visited, and so as to record the visit, interviewee 3 placed much importance on the collection and storage of pictures from the visit. The ability to use a camera at the site, unhindered and free from copyright regulations, was identified as an attribute. Not only did the camera enable pictures to be taken of the visit, it also facilitated a strand of creativity (consequence) as opportunities for reportage style photo taking and free styling in the context of photography results in some very interesting and creative pictures of the family. This was further discussed by the father who pointed out how the whole family became very imaginative (instrumental value) when using the camera, and employed it to recreate a particular time period, in this case, ancient Egypt, with the kids becoming actors in this piece of performance art. In this case, the interviewee explicitly detailed the importance of picture taking with his children present as a means by which his image and confidence could be restored post-divorce. The ability to present pictures of the visit has a therapeutic conditioning affect reinforcing the father's need for social recognition by his peers that he is a good father. The pictures act as tangible evidence for all to see of his good parenting skills and love for the children, the posting of pictures on Facebook in interview three was done post-divorce. It now acts as a reassurance tool, on display for the rest of world to view, demonstrating the love for his children and his good fatherly characteristics and facilitating the social recognition (terminal value) that the father craves post-divorce and the changes that have come about in the family unit post the mother leaving.

“We always use the camera when we visit sites like this, the kids love uploading the pictures to Facebook and I appreciate what the kids do, it makes me feel like a good father”

Interview 3, male, aged 41

Looking at personal benefits associated with the visit, interviewee 3 made much of the importance of enhanced relationships and affection resulting from the visit. Not only did the content of the visit facilitate discussion post-visit, it also actively enhanced his relationship with his children.

Similarly in interview 4 emphasis was placed on the personal benefits associated with the visit. In the case of interview 4 these benefits were themselves more akin to her own personal development in terms of educational attainment and possible career enhancement, as a direct result of the acquisition of knowledge, through the visit to the museum. In terms of attributes interviewee 4 made much of the importance of supported learning and that the attraction must facilitate this process with accompanying information in the form of an interactive web site (attribute). The presence of such a medium (dedicated web site and on-line learning materials) was deemed very important more so post the visit, so as to corroborate and establish facts associated with the time period the museum was attempting to interpret.

“I think it is important for any venue to have follow up material that can be accessed after the visit. The fact that I can re-visit a site post the visit electronically and check out new material is a real must for me”.

Interview 4, female, aged 33

The internet would be used to educate and inform interviewee 4 and of particular relevance was the time frame in which slavery was set, the motivations of the perpetrators of slavery and the victims themselves; this facilitated an increased understanding of time period (consequence). The primary interaction with the internet occurred after the visit, to corroborate facts from the visit. The use of the internet post visit enabled interviewee 4 to develop a more holistic understanding of slavery, with a degree of forgiveness (instrumental value) being afforded to those who carried out these terrible acts of kidnapping, incarceration and murder albeit under the asperities of slavery. A resulting terminal value here was wisdom and it is interesting to note how important the role of education was in relation to the visit and the interviewee's aspirations to leave her present employment, for the future possibilities of further and higher education, resulting in better qualifications, higher educational attainments and a possible new future with purpose and hope.

In terms of souvenir collection at each site, interviewee 3 stated that he collected souvenirs; in this case, the photograph acted as a memory aide with the majority of photographs being taken at the site featuring his family. In interview 3 the pictures taken were stored electronically and shared via Facebook, showing the family engaging in activities whilst at the museum. By comparison, in interview 4, no physical souvenirs were collected and instead memory was employed as a means of archiving, to recollect the experience of the visit with both conversation and storytelling as the main methods of dissemination post-visit. In terms of commonalities of experience; interviewees 3 and 4 share some mannerisms, in so much that they employed storytelling post visit to enhance their own image and facilitate relationships with loved ones; through the narrative of speech.

In conclusion, interviewee 3 and 4 shared a number of commonalities and differences. Firstly, in terms of commonalities the importance of education as a theme for both visits was highlighted as being of key importance. In terms of site accessibility, interviewee 3 placed high importance on ease of access and security for his family, whereas interviewee 4 placed much importance on full access aided by her own intuition and interest. The importance of social recognition, wisdom and acquisition of knowledge for interviewee 3 and 4 were key to the visit and shows how the visit had personal spin offs for the visitors, albeit in the context of their own environment and personal needs. In terms of souvenir collecting and picture taking, interviewee 3 regularly took photographs of the family and exhibited them on Facebook, whereas interviewee 4 did not employ photography, instead preferring to commit any pictures to memory.

4.3 Interviews 5 & 6. Dark dungeons (the results from interview 5 & 6 have been combined in the table below, a corresponding number associated with each interviewee is used to denote each interviewees response). Dark dungeons represents those sites associated with bygone penal incarceration. Many of these sites are former prisons or courthouses with emphasis upon education, entertainment.

Table 13. Interviews 5 & 6. Dark dungeons

<u>Attributes</u>	<u>Consequences</u>	<u>Instrumental value (IV)</u>	<u>Terminal value (TV)</u>	<u>Souvenir collection</u>
Must have historical / educational themes/ overtones (5) Can be pre booked (5&6)	Increase understanding, no fear of looking uneducated (5) Easy life, no hassle (6)	Intellect (to be educated, increase knowledge) (5) Love (6)	World at peace (better understanding of external factors) (5) True friendship (6)	Interview 5, Brochure (autographed by guides) also pictures on his digital camera.
Organised tours (5) Provision for guided tour (6)	Meet with informed people (ex-prisoners) (5) Feel reassured, sharing with friends (6)	Forgiveness (5) Imagination (6)	Wisdom (to better understand and accept alternative viewpoints) (5) Family security/feel safe (6)	Interview 6, T-shirts and DVD's and take photographs.
Full site access and unrestricted photography (5&6). Educational (5&6)	Change opinion (5) Educate peers & feel important (6)	Responsibility (to inform and educate) change people's mind (5) Helpfulness (6)	Social recognition (5) Feeling of accomplishment/importance (6)	

Interviews 5&6 were representative of the light stage of the spectrum. Interview 5 was undertaken with a visitor from Robben Island. Robben Island is sited of the coast of South Africa and was used from the 17th to the 20th centuries as a penal institution, primarily for political subversives of the period. Today it holds World Heritage status awarded by UNESCO and operates as a museum. The museum covers the history of the Island and details the chronology associated with the struggle against apartheid and South Africa's subsequent road to democracy. Key notable famous inmates include Govan Mbeki (father of former President of South Africa Thabo Mbeki), Wilton Mkwayi, (activist), Murphy Morobe (Soweto township activist) and the African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela. Interview 6 took place with a visitor from Alcatraz prison which is located on

Alcatraz Island, in the San Francisco Bay, just less than two miles offshore from San Francisco, California, United States. The site has been used extensively over the years as a penal institution from the late 1800s to 1963. In 1969 the site was occupied for approximately two years by Native American Indians, in protest over land issues. In 1972, Alcatraz became a national recreation area and in 1986 became a National Historic Landmark. Today, the island is managed by the National Park Service as part of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area. The island is open daily to visitors, who visit the infamous prison and wonder at its macabre past. Access to the site is by ferry ride from Pier 33, at Fisherman's Wharf.

As a starting point both interviewee 5 and 6 shared some commonalities, firstly in the case of interviewee 5 the importance of education was a key theme to run through the interview. It was clear from the discussion that interviewee 5 placed much importance on education and improvement of one's own self through the visit.

"Information equals education, I always try to obtain as much information as possible during the visit, by educating myself I become knowledgeable and improve myself".

Interview 5, male, aged 58

Running parallel to this, the importance of pre visit information searches often facilitated via the internet was deemed important; to be informed re historical and political content of the attraction was key to interviewee 5 (an attribute). By employing the internet to facilitate the information search, interviewee 5 became more knowledgeable of the artefacts on display and enabled him to engage far more confidently with likeminded visitors at the site. This is reflected in the following statement:

"Information pre visit is key for me, it enables me to become informed, to look clever and ultimately feel at one with my peers during and after the visit".

Interview 5, male, aged 58

The use of the internet enabled much information to be gathered and made the interviewee feel confident, safe in the knowledge that he was informed (no fear of looking uneducated = consequence). In addition to these observations interviewee 5 made much of the importance of education (increase knowledge = instrumental value), by better understanding the motivations of conflict and oppression, the search for peace could be greatly facilitated (world at peace = terminal value).

“Education is very important, by understanding the origins of conflict; we can surely better promote peace and understanding”.

Interview 5, male, aged 58

In terms of interviewee 6 a number of commonalities and interesting themes emerged, firstly as with interviewee 5 and the other earlier interviews (1-4) the importance of using the internet with the purpose of viewing the site and booking the visit, pre arrival was deemed of key importance (an attribute). This was primarily due to the interviewee’s dislike of all things regimented in terms of waiting when paying at entry.

“I don’t like waiting for anything, if I can order it and pay for it before hand and save time that works great for me”

Interview 6, female, aged 53

It was interesting to note that interviewee 6 had visited the site with a loved one and therefore did not want the trip spoiling due to unforeseen time delays associated with queuing. The importance of an easy life with no trouble or hassle (a consequence) was key to the

interviewee, with the importance of facilitating happiness and love (an instrumental value) and true friendship (a terminal value) being enhanced with her partner, both during and after the visit had ended. The shared experience of the visit had greatly enhanced their relationship.

During the experience at the site interviewee 5 placed much on the importance of meeting informed people during the visit. In this case the use of the tour guide (organised tour = attribute) was of paramount importance, more so as they had direct experience of the place they were detailing. This not only enabled a clearer and richer more informed understanding to develop of the life's of those people who were incarcerated at site, but it also enabled interviewee 5 to better appreciate the motivations and actions of those former inmates (meet informed people / former inmates = a consequence). Interviewee 5 detailed the importance of facilitating a better understanding of history by both experiencing it and meeting with those people who were involved in shaping it. This resulted in interviewee 5 feeling positive about himself, not only developing his own knowledge set, but also appreciating a subject from a differing viewpoint and possibly understanding the historical context in more detail and therefore better appreciate the motivations and showing empathy to those who were themselves convicted and imprisoned for acts of violence, albeit in the context of a war against oppression (forgiveness and understanding = an instrumental value). This resulting new found knowledge and ability to forgive made the interviewee feel empowered, by better understanding the former prisoners feeling of desperation, isolation and disenfranchisement from a political system that discriminated based upon the colour of skin (the apartheid political system) the interviewee became wiser (a terminal value).

“It is clear to me that the former prisoners who were incarcerated here did some terrible things, but there are two sides to every story. Clearly if I was oppressed based upon the colour of my skin, I would also respond in a very negative manner”.

Interview 5, male, aged 58

Still within the activities at the site, interviewee 6 detailed how an enhanced relationships with his partner, was facilitated by the presence of a guided tour (an attribute) at the attraction. Firstly the guided tour enhanced the visit, making it feel authentic and factual, enabling the visitors to better understand and appreciate the history of the site and the experiences of those who were incarcerated there. Secondly the utilisation of the guide enhanced the group dynamics, enabling the couple to share the experience together and not worry about missing things or becoming lost on the tour, as the guide was in control. The power of the spoken word certainly enhanced the visit and subsequently enhanced the relationship between the two individuals, as they felt safe, relaxed and happy in the notion that the guide was in charge. In addition, the use of the guide had a calming and reassuring effect on interviewee 6, as the interviewees high blood pressure was a health burden that often made her feel unhappy. The reassuring presence of the guide made the interviewee feel more confident and less concerned re her high blood pressure (feel reassured = consequence).

“I always use the service of a guide on any trip, I feel safe, informed, not rushed and I can ask questions and find out more than the average visitor”.

Interview 6, female, aged 53

Of equal importance here was the use of imagination (an instrumental value) during the guided tour to recreate the past. Not only did the guided tour make interviewee 6 feel happy and safe, it also facilitated her imagination, enabling a fuller experience of the visit to be appreciated. In terms of safety and security interviewee 6 felt safer and more secure knowing that institutions like this still existed and as bad and terrible as they could be, they have a role to play in regulating the uncontrollable in society. This resulted in a terminal value of family

security, a key recognition being that society was much safer with institutions like Alcatraz in existence (albeit that Alcatraz was no longer operational, similar institutions did exist, like San Quentin and this made her feel safe).

In terms of on-site provision, interviewee 5 detailed how it was important that full site access was available and that photography taking was not restricted (an attribute). After the visit and upon return home the interviewee would invite friends round for an evening event associated with showcasing all his photographs from the trip. Of key importance here was the use of the photograph to embellish the stories from the visit and to create controversy by challenging the opinions held by people in their minds associated with the politics of the apartheid era (change opinion = a consequence). Upon the conclusion of the visit, interviewee 5 detailed how important it was to not only retain the knowledge associated with visit, but also to preach the political doctrine obtained from the visit, interviewee 5 made explicit how it was important to change people's minds and viewpoints upon returning home (an instrumental value). This would often occur in the company of friends who would seek the opinions of interviewee 5 on political matters related to his recent overseas trip. In the case of interviewee 5 this resulted in a feeling of happiness and improved social stock within the confines of his peer group, not only being able to change opinions, but also to feel superior to their friends and further develop their own social standing from the recognition received from associates and acquaintances (social recognition = terminal value).

Whilst at the site interview 6 detailed the importance of unrestricted photography with no issues associated with what they could and could not record. Interviewee 6 felt that unrestricted recordings and photography associated with the attraction enabled her to get an extra souvenir that she could take home without being physically charged (an attribute). In addition to this she also felt an overwhelming need to take material home that could be

showcased to her friends, in the context of educational items associated with Alcatraz's history. Finally upon the return home the purchased souvenir DVD and photographs / digital recording taken on her mobile phone were used to inform friends and relatives of the importance of the trip and also to enhance the individuals standing with her peers. The importance of conversation as a method of recollection and confirming the visit should not be underestimated, the power of the spoken word enables the visitor to better shape and detail their role and experience at site and subsequently improve their image within their community or peer group.

"I always feel slightly superior to my friends post the visit, I love telling them about my visit, it makes me feel very important".

Interview 6, female, aged 53

Both the DVD and the photographs of the visit were used by interviewee 6 to showcase the trip and to educate her peers (a consequence). A feeling of importance evolved from this activity, as interviewee 6 felt that she had helped educate her peers (helpfulness, an instrumental value). Using the pictorial content from the trip as the premise for the educational master class (albeit with friends), this resulted in a feeling of accomplishment (a terminal value) and recognition from her nearest and dearest that she was indeed a knowledgeable individual. This results in making her feel important as she is providing an educational service to her friends.

In terms of souvenir collection at each site, both interviewee 5 and 6 engaged in this process. Firstly interviewee 5 purchased literature during the visit, including a brochure/ programme so as to facilitate the visit. This was autographed by the guides and was used to corroborate

the visit and to add weight to the magnitude of the role of the guides, who were themselves custodians of history, as former inmates

In addition interviewee 5 took pictures on his digital camera, mainly of the architecture and building at the site. It was also important to interviewee 5 that relatively full site access was available and that photography taking was not restricted. After the visit and upon returning home interviewee 5 would invite friends round for an evening event associated with showcasing all his photographs from the trip, the utilisation of an event with friends, was used so as to display the pictures from the visit.

In contrast interviewee 6 engaged in a more commercial souvenir selection with purchase related memorabilia such as T-shirts and DVD's related to the history of the prison. This was viewed with friends after the visit in the confines of their home. This certainly has similarities with interviewee 5, who also showcased the visit upon returning home. In terms of photography, interviewee 6 took photographs and recorded some components of the visit on her mobile phone, predominantly of buildings and related infrastructure. In this scenario interviewee 6 would often showcase the picture surrounded by narrative that best suited her own understanding of Alcatraz irrespective of any real historical accuracy.

"I tend to show all my pictures and recording to my friends when I get home, I love holding court and entertaining my friends with commentary associated with the places I have been, sometimes I add bits of commentary that might not always be factually true, this always adds to good tale".

Interview 6, female, aged 53

The taking of any picture by the tourist, enables them to not only transport the picture back home for viewing at a later date, it also enables the tourist to take the experience of the visit

back home, a tangible reminder of an intangible experience. In terms of characteristic and style of picture taking; interviewee 6 would shoot and store the picture on the mobile phone and later saved them to a laptop and viewed with friends via the laptop upon their return home. The importance of unrestricted photography was important to interviewee 6 as she felt that it was an extra souvenir that she could take home without being physically charged for. In addition to this she also felt an overwhelming need to take material home that could be showcased to friends. Finally upon return home the purchased souvenir DVD and digital recording taken on the mobile phone were used to inform friends and relatives of the importance of the trip and also to enhance the individuals standing with her peers. This results in making her feel important as she is providing an educational service to her friends.

“I really enjoy telling my friends about the visit, it makes me feel very important, that said I also like to think that I am offering an educational service to my friends. By telling them about my visit I am passing on some of my knowledge, which they can possibly benefit educationally from”.

Interview 6, female, aged 53

In conclusion, both interviews 5 and 6 shared a number of commonalities and differences. Firstly interview 5 was generally associated with history, understanding, forgiveness and social recognition, whereas interview 6 had certain constraining factors associated with health, and therefore access, reassurance, love and friendship were the key overriding factors. As a starting point a key theme to run through interviewee 5 was associated with better understanding of history and meeting with those who were present at the moment when history was being written. Indeed the first key attribute of the site was that it must have historical overtones and educational value. In the case of interviewee 6, the provision whereby site information and facilities can be viewed online and entrance tickets can be pre-

booked is the first key attribute that is mentioned and is probably related to her disability that prevents her standing and waiting for long period of time. In terms of those commonalities that exist between interviewee five and six, firstly the provision for an organised tour or guide is of paramount importance for both interviewee 5 and 6. In the case of interviewee 5 this enabled them to meet with former prisoners and to gain a deeper insight to the political conflict associated with the Apartheid era. Finally interviewee 5 detailed how education, wisdom and the ability to change opinions as a result of her experience were key to the travel experience. In contrast interviewee 6 identified the enhancement of her relationship with her partner as a result of the visit, also identifying the education of her peers upon return home as being important. The main fundamental difference here between interviewees 5 and 6 was that interviewee 5 viewed such institutions as places for education, empathy and forgiveness, whereas interviewee six associated such penal institutions as places of incarceration, primarily to ensure the safety and security of society and to punish those who engage in deviant behaviour.

4.4 Interviews 7 & 8. Dark resting places (the results from interview 7 & 8 have been combined in the table below, a corresponding number associated with each interviewee is used to denote each interviewees response). Dark resting places are primarily associated with cemeteries and graves, some commercial elements may exist.

Table 14. Interviews 7 & 8. Dark resting places

<u>Attributes</u>	<u>Consequences</u>	<u>Instrumental value (IV)</u>	<u>Terminal value (TV)</u>	<u>Souvenir collection</u>
No admission charges (7) Historical / military related (8)	Increased knowledge (7) Time consuming (8)	Independence (7&8)	Freedom of choice regarding travel(7) Freedom to plan (8)	Interview 7 , no souvenirs collected (deemed as being disrespectful)
Full access no constraints (7) Must be signposted (8)	Sadness, understanding of the loss (7) Time consuming (8)	To pay my respect to the dead, act of politeness (7) Love (8)	Increased wisdom (7) Inner harmony (8)	Interview 8 , use of grandfather's diary to direct the visit, scrap book, photographs, fridge magnets all of which would later be stored in a scrap book.
Can be easily revisited from home base (7) Family history (8)	Becoming over protective of family (7) Sadness (8)	Love (7) Intellect, responsibility (8)	Increased family security (7) Accomplishment, happiness (8)	

Interviews 7&8 were representative of the mid stage of the spectrum. Interview 7 was undertaken with a visitor from Aberfan. Aberfan is a Welsh village in South Wales, near Merthyr Tydfil, on the morning of the 21st of October 1966 a coal slurry behind the local primary school suddenly started to slide downhill, engulfing the local primary school. This resulted in killing 116 children and 28 adults. The site where the primary school was located is now a garden of remembrance and sited nearby is the local graveyard where the majority of victims are now buried. Interview 8 took place with a visitor from Dunkirk Town Cemetery which is located south east of Dunkirk Town in Belgium. The cemetery contains two Commonwealth war graves from the First World War and the Second World War. Dunkirk

itself witnessed the ill-fated British Expeditionary Force in September and October 1914 resulting in a huge loss of military lives, approximately 4500. During the Second World War, Dunkirk was the backdrop to the evacuation of the British Expeditionary Force from France in May 1940. The cemetery holds 460 Commonwealth burials of the First World War and 793 Second World War burials. At the main entrance of the cemetery at the Commonwealth War graves section the Dunkirk Memorial commemorates more than 4,500 casualties who died in the campaign (British Expeditionary Force) and who have now know grave.

As a starting point both interviews 7 and 8 shared a number of commonalities pre visit, in the case of interviewee 7 a key attribute to start with here was the importance of no admission charge, with the interviewee opposed to paying to visit a site associated with the death of young people. Upon further discussion interviewee 7 felt that by charging for entry it becomes a commercial enterprise / spectacle and this often cheapens the act of remembrance. The magnitude of the loss of life associated with the disaster is clear to see and this manifests itself in the large number of graves of the victims at the grave yard. Interviewee seven has visited a number of grave sites in the past, but found the graveyard at Aberfan very upsetting.

“Seeing all those graves of those young children was very sad”.

Interview 7, female, aged 38

In the case of interviewee 8 the individual had regularly visited Word War 2 (WW2) cemeteries with her relatives; this was normally with her mother or father. As a starting point her interest had been greatly facilitated by her GCSE history teacher whilst at School.

“My history teacher was excellent, he made history come alive and it was whilst doing history that I became interested in WW2 sites”.

Interview 8, female, aged 20

Aligned next to this her father was interested in WW2 history and he actively encouraged her interest whilst studying for her GCSE in history. Her interest was further facilitated by her great grandfather who had kept a diary during WW2, which she had read and used as a reference point during her visits to such cemeteries. The key attribute here is the historical / military overtones that form the backbone to the visit

“The diary that my grandfather kept is excellent, it enables me to cross reference the sites I have visited with the ones he visited, all those years ago”

Interview 8, female, aged 20

In terms of interviewee 7, a key consequence of the visit was the acquisition of knowledge, associated with her interest in health and safety. Through the visit she was better able to appreciate the poor provision for health and safety within the context of the 1960 mining industry. This has ramifications for the role of imagination utilised during the visit, enabling the visitor to better understand the location and typology of the environment. The location of the graveyard and its closeness to the site of the disaster and full access to both the graveyard and site of the old school where many of the victims died enabled a fuller appreciation of tragedy to unfold.

“My background is in health and safety (H&S) and it really brings it home to me how bad the provision was for H&S all those years ago”

Interview 7, female, aged 38

The interest in health and safety and the acquisition of knowledge associated with mining (a consequence) was a key consequence associated with the visit and this educational element has commonalities with interviewee 8 who's interest in history resulted in her spending too

much time searching for information (a consequence) pre visit. As a precursor to any visit interviewee 8 would carry out an information search so as to become familiar with the location, and to better appreciate the location in the context of its historical legacy. The information search would take two forms; firstly an electronic search using the internet would ensure that a rounder fuller understanding of the history associated with each battle and the subsequent war casualties in each of the cemeteries she visited. Secondly a visit to the local travel agents for a brochure added a physical dimension to the location before visit. Whilst the pre visit information search was very informative and interesting, a consequence was how time consuming the information search process could be. Indeed whilst this was an enjoyable activity, many hours could be spent searching for information, resulting in too much information being obtained. In addition both interviewees share commonalities associated with instrumental and terminal values pre visit. In the case of interviewee 7 the ability to view the site in an unrushed manner, aligned next to the independent nature associated with planning the visit (it could be arranged independently without the involvement of travel intermediaries) was identified as an instrumental value, whilst the freedom associated with the choice of travel was identified as a terminal value. Similarly interviewee 8 was free to organise the trip (independent to plan the visit and independence to view the site during visit, an instrumental value) with the full support and permission from her parents, who would often accompany her upon the trips. Finally for interviewee 8 the terminal value here was freedom, the freedom to plan the trip unassisted. Interestingly, interviewee 7 did not use any form of electronic medium such as the internet pre visit, whereas interviewee 8 would use the internet pre-visit to collect information on those sites she intended to visit.

“Being able to plan the trip and take my time, with no interference from third parties is big part of the process for me”

Interview 7, female, aged 38

“My parents allow me to plan the trip, they are happy for me to do the background research and tell them where they are going. For me planning the trip unassisted without the involvement of travel companies is key to the trip, many of the travel companies could not put together such a bespoke trip for our family”

Interview 8, female, aged 20

Whilst at the site a number of issues emerged with interviewees 7 and 8. Firstly issues associated with accessibility were identified as being a key attribute for interviewee 7 with full access to site with no constraints being identified as very important. The importance of full site access (both the garden of remembrance at the former site of the school and the grave yard) was deemed to be important as it enabled a richer picture of the victims and their own stories to emerge. In the case of interviewee 8, during the visit a number of activities occurred. For example interviewee 8 would take control of the visit and act a semi-official guide with her parents, informing them of locational issues and history of the site. A key attribute of site was the requirement for physical signage so as to direct and facilitate her tour of the cemetery.

“Unrestricted access at site is key for my visit, the ability to walk unhindered around Aberfan and its associated areas, including the school and grave yard is very important, full access makes enables me to better appreciate the many differing geographical components to the tragedy”

Interview 7, female, aged 38

“I like to act as tour guide for my parents, sometimes I walk round with them and other times I go alone on my own, a key enabler here is the availability of signs at the grave yard, this enables me to have accurate information that I can pass on to my parents, this ensures accuracy”

Interview 8, female, aged 20

In terms of consequences, instrumental values and terminal values at the site, both individuals expressed some minor yet noticeable differences. Firstly interviewee 7 appears to be primarily motivated to visit Aberfan to better understand the level of grief as experienced by the family's who lost loved ones, this is evidenced in the consequence of sadness (greater understanding of loss of life, as experienced by the family's). In terms of consequences identified during the visit, sadness was highlighted by interviewee 7 as a consequence and took on a personal perspective and resulted in interviewee seven thinking long and deep about the impacts and ramifications of losing loved ones. Not only did she think about her own loved ones (who were safe and well) but also of those families of Aberfan.

In the instrumental value cell, interviewee 7 identifies the importance of paying ones respect to the victims (an act of politeness) once again emphasising her belief that it is important to remember and pay respect to those who have died. The ability to pay respect to those that had died at Aberfan was a key instrumental value associated with the visit (an act of politeness, an instrumental value) and probably originated from her relative (a teacher a primary school) who remembered the event and used to chat to her about it.

"I remember a relative who was of school age at the same time of the Aberfan disaster telling me about it, whilst it was a Welsh tragedy, all the Schools in the UK did some kind of act of remembrance for those that had died, this relative told me about her Schools act of remembrance and this has always stayed with me. To visit the site was important for me and seemed an appropriate thing to do whilst in the vicinity, a polite act of remembrance to those who had died in such a terrible tragedy".

Interview 7, female, aged 38

Finally the terminal value for interviewee 7 is personal to her (increased wisdom) but this once again pays reference to those who perished at Aberfan in so much that she (interviewee 7) becomes more appreciative of her own lot in life and her own good fortune, this is primarily based upon reflection and what she has experienced at Aberfan.

“You can’t help but think about your own family and loved ones whilst at Aberfan, I always think of those family’s who lost loved ones and how I feel if this had happened to me , I feel blessed to have a health family”.

Interview 7, female, aged 38

In contrast interviewee 8 was primarily motivated to visit WW2 cemeteries to better understand the timeframe in which her great grandfather lived. A key attribute of site was the requirement for physical signage so as to direct and facilitate her tour of the cemetery. With the use of her great grandfather’s diary she was able to design and participate in the cemetery tour, but the main consequence here was the time taken in engaging with the tour. In terms of the instrumental value identified during the visit, this is love, the love for her great grandfather. Whilst she had never known her great grandfather, through the narrative passages of his diary she felt an affiliation and love for this great man. Finally the terminal value here was associated with inner harmony, the reassurance and internal peace she felt from visiting places that her great grandfather was connected to.

“It always amazes me, that whilst I never met my grandfather I am able to appreciate the time frame in which he lived and the sacrifices that he and his generation made. The diary is a guide, showing me places that he visited, this enables me to visit these locations and walk in his footsteps”

Interview 8, female, aged 20

Finally and after the visit, whilst interviewee 7 did not use the internet pre visit, she would employ it post visit to corroborate exactly where she had been. In this way interviewee 7

would get a better feel for exactly where she had been. By viewing pictures of the 1966 incident she was better able to appreciate the magnitude of the catastrophe and identify exactly where she had been during the visit. This was then cross referenced with pictures taken of the town back in 1966 (an attribute, the site can be easily revisited from home). During the time immediately after the visit, interviewee seven would become over protective of her children remembering what had happened at Aberfan (become over protective, a consequence). Interestingly interviewee 7 does not showcase her knowledge of the Aberfan visit or show anything to friends to corroborate the visit, but the reinvigorated love and appreciation of her own family is sufficient to ensure that the trip has been worthwhile (love appreciation of own family, instrumental value). Finally interviewee 7 was at pains to point out that she is more appreciative of her family and the well-being of the family unit (terminal value = increased family security).

In terms of interviewee 8, upon return home she was quick to consider other sites that could be visited during the next visit; a key attribute here was the significance of the cemeteries and the neighbouring towns in relation to the grandfathers diary. If a site or locality was mentioned in the diary, they would be visited at the next available opportunity. The key attribute here was that any site visited or to be visited must have relevance to her own family history. In addition interviewee 8, post visit became sad (a consequence) missing the experience of the visit. Finally and where interviewee eight differs from interviewee 7 is the manner by which she feels it important to inform the intellect of others (intellect, an instrumental value) of the sacrifice made by a previous generation. Interviewee 8 felt it of paramount importance to not only archive all material collected from the visit in a bespoke catalogue or diary, but to tell the real truth to her friends and family, of her great grand farther

and the sacrifices he and his generation made, resulting in a sense of accomplishment post visit (terminal value).

In terms of souvenir collection interviewee 7 did not collect any type of souvenir, as she felt it disrespectful to the deceased and their families, the taking of pictures with a camera was in her mind inappropriate. As for interviewee 8, souvenirs were collected, the interviewee kept a diary during the visit (in addition to the one that was originally owned by her great grandfather); this diary would itself form part of a larger archive which would be used upon return home as part of a larger scrap book, which would be shared with family and friends. Aligned next to this archiving activity, photographs taken at the cemetery (on a digital camera) were primarily associated with pictures of places. The pictures were be printed up and stuck inside a scrap book for viewing by friends. In addition, the digital photographs were uploaded and shared via Facebook and archived electronically in a photo album (Picasa web album). During each site visit, postcards would be purchased, some would be written and sent to friends back home, other products bought would include fridge magnets all of which would later be stored in a scrap book.

In conclusion, both interviews 7 and 8 shared a number of commonalities and differences. Firstly both interviewees greatly appreciated the opportunity to plan the visit independently and also to engage in the visit at their own pace, with no interference from intermediaries or third parties. In terms of interviewee 7, the visit acted as a reality check, enabling the mother to better appreciate the good fortune of her own family against the backdrop of those who had lost loved ones at Aberfan. In contrast interviewee 8 used the visit as almost biographical blueprint for her grandfathers journeys in WW2. A mechanism by which she could better appreciate her grandfathers and their generations personal sacrifices of that time period. Interestingly interviewee 7 did not showcase the visit or disseminate it to friends and relatives

post visit. In contrast interviewee 8 did engage in information dissemination post the trip, but this was done in a respectful manner and rather than attempting to show case her newly found knowledge to friends, she chose to use the trip to document her own grandfathers sacrifices, his generations sacrifices and the folly of war. Finally another main difference between the two interviews was associated with souvenir collection at site, with interviewee 7 not collecting any souvenirs, viewing this as being disrespectful. In contrast interviewee 8 was heavily involved in souvenir collection, photo taking and scarp book creation.

4.5 Interviews 9 & 10. Dark shrines (the results from interview 9 & 10 have been combined in the table below, a corresponding number associated with each interviewee is used to denote each interviewees response). Dark shrines tend to be associated with acts of remembrance and respect / reverence for those who have recently died. Such shrines may be in a relatively close chronology to the present day and may also take on a quasi-political aspect to their presentation.

Table 15. Interviews 9 & 10. Dark shrines

<u>Attributes</u>	<u>Consequences</u>	<u>Instrumental value</u> (IV)	<u>Terminal value</u> (TV)	<u>Souvenir collection</u>
Geopolitical overtones (9) Can be studied pre visit (historical blue print) (10)	Increased knowledge (9) Become very excited pre-visit, become too focused (10)	Intellect (9) Independence (10)	Wisdom (9) Freedom (to organise bespoke visit) (10)	Interview 9 , photographs ticket stubs from the visit, entrance ticket, or transport ticket stubs archived in a secure scrapbook
Has a memorial garden & museum (9) Must have real atmosphere (10)	Time consuming (9) Heightened feeling of excitement/tension/sadness (10)	Broadmindedness (9) Courage (10)	A sense of accomplishment (9) An exciting life (10)	Interview 10 takes pictures of the locality using an old 1960s black and white camera
Has web site provision /full access (9) Can be easily visited again / full access (10)	Sadness (9) Too much interest from friends (10)	Independence (9) Courage (9&10)	Wisdom (9&10)	

Interviews 9&10 were representative of the dark stage of the spectrum. Interview 9 was undertaken with a visitor from New York's Ground Zero. Ground Zero is the name given to the former location of the Twin Towers in New York City USA. The Twin Towers are located in the trade entre of New York in the Lower Manhattan district. The Twin Towers were destroyed on the 11th of September 2001, when two hijacked American Airlines planes were deliberately crashed into the two building resulting in their subsequent collapse and huge loss of life. Ground Zero is the name given to the former site that the Twin Towers occupied. Interview 10 took place with a visitor from Saddleworth Moor, Saddleworth Moor is located at Saddleworth in Oldham England. Saddleworth Moors is the geographical

expanse of moorland synonymous with the murders of a number of young children and their burial on Saddleworth Moor; the murders became collectively known as the Moors Murders (circa 1963-1965). In total there were five children aged between 10 and 17, these being Pauline Reade, John Kilbride, Keith Bennett, Lesley Ann Downey and Edward Evans (not murdered on the Moors, but at a house property, 16 Wardle Brook Avenue in Hattersley, Greater Manchester). Two of the victims were discovered in shallow graves dug on Saddleworth Moor (John Kilbride & Lesley Ann Downey); a third grave of Pauline Reade was discovered on the moor in 1987. The body of a fourth victim, Keith Bennett, is also suspected to be buried on the moors; despite a number of searches it remains undiscovered.

A number of interesting themes emerged from the interviews. As a starting point interviewee 9 detailed the importance of geopolitical overtones in the context of the subject matter that underpins the events of 911. These were deemed as being of major importance to interviewee 9 (an attribute).

“I am very interested in the geopolitical nature of dark sites and this greatly facilitated my visit and improved my knowledge of the terrible events”.

Interview 9, male, aged 22

Running parallel to this was the importance of increased knowledge for interviewee 9 (a consequence) and a better understanding of the events. Whilst the increased knowledge was useful, it can also be complex and multi-layered, resulting in information overload. The knowledge gained from the visit made the interviewee feel more knowledgeable and intellectual, creating wisdom and ensuring that the full magnitude of the disaster could be discussed and relayed to peers.

“It is important for me to gain knowledge from this type of visit, sometime I find myself consuming too much information and these results in giving me a sore head. Having said that, any information retained from the trip is quickly detailed to my

mates when I return, they love my travel stories and it makes me feel like the font of all knowledge”. Interview 9, male, aged 22

As a result of reading related geo-political literature in relation the Ground Zero, the acquisition of knowledge was further enhanced for interviewee nine and he was better able to improve his intellect (an instrumental value) and became wiser of the many geopolitical and historical factors that have been associated with the site post the events of 911 (wisdom, a terminal value).

“I have learnt a lot form studying literature associated with Ground Zero, I am more knowledgeable of the facts that led up to the terrible events”.

Interview 9, male, aged 22

In relation to interviewee 10 the visit took on a more personal nature with the interviewee having known a relation of one the victims. A number of interesting themes emerged from interview 10 firstly the interviewee, a retired Police officer, whilst not alive during the original 1964 case had over his Policing career studied the Moors Murder case and had become fascinated with the case. As a starting point, his interest in the macabre came as result of his older brother who had served in the Army in Northern Ireland in the mid-1970s and who had shown him pictures that he had taken of dead bodies post a bombing incident. This stayed with the individual and over his childhood and youth he became interested in unsolved murders and started to read non-fiction crime books regarding unsolved murders in the UK. After a number of years doing menial odd jobs he decided to join the Greater Manchester Police (GMP). During his time spent in GMP he became aware of GMP involvement and their subsequent investigation and handling of the Moors Murder case.

One of the key areas of interest within the case was the possible location of moors murders victim Keith Bennetts unmarked grave, this resulted in interviewee 10 using his own Policing

skills to start his own unofficial investigation into the possible location of Keith Bennett's body, located somewhere on the Saddleworth Moor. Of key importance to the subject matter under investigation, was the historical blueprint (attribute) that the murder held and its relevance to the North West of England. Indeed the interviewee had worked with a lady when he was younger who had served on the Jury at Chester Assizes Court in 1965 that had found Ian Brady and Myra Hindley guilty of Murder. The lady relayed in great detail the tape recording that the jury had heard as evidence of dying moments of Lesley Anne Downey recorder by Ian Brady. This story stayed with the interviewee and years later when he joined the Police he was determined to investigate the case further.

"I have always been fascinated with the Moors Murders case, as early as I can remember people in my neighbourhood would talk about it. Some parents would use the storey to tell kids about the perils of going off with strangers, or what might happen to them if they were naughty".

Interview 10, male, aged 42

Issues of accessibility at site were identified as being of key important to interviewee 10. A key method of transport here was his motorbike that would be used to visit Saddleworth Moor and therefore the location had to be accessible by motorbike. Prior to the visit interviewee 10 would spend time ensuring that his bike was in suitable condition for the visit, a consequence here was the level of excitement that he would experience often several days before the visit. Aligned next to the feeling of excitement, interviewee 10 was very keen to ensure that he not only prepared for the visit, but that he was fully prepared for any eventuality, such as bad weather or breakdowns. The preparation for the trip was entirely organised by himself with no involvement from third parties, such as fiends of family; the instrumental value here was independence. In addition to the independent nature of the trip, interviewee 10 spoke in great detail about the feeling of freedom regarding the forthcoming

trip. The trip itself could be modified, changed or even cancelled without any involvement or fear of criticisms from friends, the terminal value here was freedom, the freedom to plan the trip as he so wished.

“I always the plan the trip alone, I am accountable to myself and can do what I want. Prior to the trip I become very excited, it’s all I can think about, I prepare my motorbike and all my equipment so that I won’t have any problems on the trip to the moors”.

Interview 10, male, aged 42

Whilst at site, interviewee 9 detailed how a number of small scale informal visits were made to the surrounding vicinity including the memorial gardens, access at site (an attribute) was deemed as being important so as to better appreciate the magnitude of the disaster. Unhindered access enabled interviewee 9 to better understand the catastrophe on a more personal level and better appreciation of the subsequent actions of the victims and loved one that terrible day. Whilst visits to the memorial gardens and museum were very informative, interviewee 9 found it to be very time consuming (a consequence) resulting in him spending hours studying the location and the surrounding buildings, so as to better understand the physical and emotional impacts which such an event.

By visiting the memorial garden, I could get a better feel for the terrible loss that the loved ones has suffered”

Interview 9, male, aged 22

The visit to the memorial gardens and the nearby 911 museum enabled the interviewee to become more broadminded (instrumental value), by appreciating the fact that it was not just a Christian American loss, but it also affected individuals from all religions including the

Islamic faith. The visit not only enabled the interviewee to become more broadminded in relation to the various dimensions associated with tragic events, it also made the individual feel complete, as the rights of passage associated with the visit to the site and memorial gardens made them feel positive, as in their own eyes it was the right thing to do, in remembering those that had died there. By visiting Ground Zero interviewee 9 was able to explore the past and to better understand the events of the past and to act in a reconciler manner. This resulted in a sense of accomplishment (terminal value).

In contrast to interviewee 9 and whilst at site interviewee 10 became totally immersed in the role of detective, using the contours and topography of the location so as to triangulate his position in relation to the possible location of the unmarked grave of Keith Bennett. At the site a number of themes emerged; for example the atmosphere (an attribute) of the site must be real, albeit created by nature, in terms of the cold misty landscape of the moor. Such atmospheric conditions greatly added to the experience of the visit, giving a real feel of atmosphere, the location where it actually happened. This greatly facilitated a feeling of excitement, an experience that was real and authentic. By experiencing the location in the real, with raw environmental conditions that have not really changed for thousands of years and were probably experienced by the murders themselves. The interviewee was better able to place himself in the mind-set of the murders.

“The environment enables me to appreciate what the murders went through, was the weather like this this on the night they disposed of the bodies, if so it could infer something about the possible location of the bodies”.

Interview 10, male, aged 42

The notion of a murder mystery was played out extensively in the interview with interviewee 10 at pains to point out how important it was for him to experience the topography of the land at the murder site and to immerse himself in the cold, damp and dark conditions so as to

facilitate authenticity of the time period associated with the murders. Such conditions enabled the interviewee to formulate hypothesis regarding the positioning of the murders during the burial of their victims. A consequence associated with the experience of being at site and being exposed to elements of nature, is that the interviewee experiences a heightened sense of tension, excitement (and some sadness) knowing that he alone has sole responsibility to find the unmarked grave of Keith Bennett. The utilisation of a picture (sourced via the internet) of the perpetrators at site, taken by Ian Brady of his accomplice (Myra Hindley) standing close to the unmarked grave of Keith Bennett, was also employed by the interviewee as a tool, to identify the possible location of Keith Bennett's unmarked grave. This resulted in a feeling of courage (instrumental value), as the interviewee was experiencing harsh environmental conditions in an attempt to solve a real life murder mystery. This excited the interviewee as he felt he was tantalisingly close to locating the unmarked grave and goes some way in facilitating an exciting life (terminal value).

"I always felt close to the grave, the conditions of the moor at night are terrible, it spurs me on to find the grave of Keith".

Interview 10, male, aged 42

In terms of activities post the visit, interviewee 9 made much of the importance of re-visiting the site electronically post visit via the internet (an attribute), so as to view the building work of the twin towers and surrounding locality.

"It is important for me to keep up to date with the development at Ground Zero, by watching the building development on-line, I feel that the victims are not dead and that are being re-born, albeit within the confines of the building itself"

Interview 9, male, aged 22

The subsequent viewing of the site post visit resulted in the interviewee feeling very sad (a consequence) as it would remind him of the terrible loss of life and how those that lost loved ones; were still in a state of limbo, against a backdrop of those who hadn't lost loved ones (visitors, like himself), who were able to move on.

“Whilst I like to see the building developments on-line, I get an over whelming feeling of sadness, as many of the victims there have yet to be located and many of the families of the victims have yet to get real closure”

Interview 9, male, aged 22

Whilst a feeling of sadness still prevailed post the visit, the interviewee felt courageous (an instrumental value) in as much that they had visited independently and engaged in an act of respect that many would have found hard to do.

“For me visiting Ground Zero is like a pilgrimage, it is something I needed to do, an act of respect to the victims, whilst it might seem unusual this for me was a courageous act, visiting a site where death and destruction has occurred is no easy task”

Interview 9, male, aged 22

Finally the wisdom resulting from the trip (a terminal value) meant that they were appreciative of the opportunity to visit Ground Zero and engage in an act of visitation that was both humbling and at the same time knowledge informing.

“The visit enabled me to better appreciate the terrible loss of life, I have become knowledgeable of the geo-politics that surround Ground Zero and I am more able now to differentiate between fact and fiction”

Interview 9, male, aged 22

Finally, post visit, interviewee 10 detailed how a key attribute associated with the location is that it can be re-visited. The fact that it could be re-visited physically within a time frame of

approximately one hour enabled the interviewee to test hypothesis associated with the location (interviewee ten only lives 50 minutes from Saddleworth Moors). A consequence here is that many of his friends continually badger him for information regarding the case; this can become laborious at times.

“I am always being hassled down the pub for information regarding my investigation, my mates always want to know whats new with the investigation, I am becoming a bit of a celebrity in these parts”

Interview 10, male, aged 42

At a personal level, the benefits of the visit relate to image enhancement / ability to impress friends within the local community and peer recognition of work done. This in effect relates to those close friends and associates who within the confines of the interviewees everyday life, compliment and applaud the good work that he is doing in relation to his investigations. In addition to which the ability to impress associates, family friends and general acquaintances in his everyday life by showcasing his part time interests does itself elevate his status within the confines of his everyday life.

“I love it when friends or relatives and even people down the pub come up to me and ask me about the investigation, I feel I am making a difference and also feel valued”.

Interview 10, male, aged 42

Finally the notion of courage emerges (an instrumental value) from this interview, in so much that the interviewee feels that he is making a difference experiencing terrible extremes of environmental conditions in an attempt to bring closure to the investigation. The wisdom associated with the investigation (a terminal value) and the subsequent acquisitions of knowledge are themselves something that makes the interviewee feel strong, knowledgeable in the fact that they have tried to make a difference.

“For me it’s very important to find the unmarked grave of Keith, I have kids myself and feel I owe it to his relatives to locate his grave, so that they can have closure on these terrible events. The investigation has made more knowledgeable of the case, added to which I am trying to make a difference”.

Interview 10, male, aged 42

In terms of souvenir collection at the site, interviewee 9 detailed the importance of collecting physical items for viewing at a later date. Whilst some photographs were taken on a digital camera (mainly of the locality), these were not deemed as being of major importance and were only given a cursory glance upon returning home. Aligned next to this; the interviewee did not approve of people taking pictures against the backdrop of the monuments to the dead or the site of the Twin Towers as it seemed inappropriate and disrespectful to the victims and family’s. Still within the forum of souvenir collection interviewee 9 was an avid collector of ticket stubs from the visit, anything associated with an entrance ticket, or transport ticket / stub associated with the visit would be saved for later archiving. This would be archived in a secure scrapbook that would be regularly viewed post the visit so as to remember the magnitude of the terrible event played out on the world stage. Of interest here was the regularity by which the individuals would view the scrapbook. This this would amount to one viewing approximately every week upon return home, over a one year period after the visit. Interestingly the archive book, was not shared with friends or relatives, but viewed in private (in other interviews the scrapbook has been shared with friends and relatives).

In contrast, interviewee 10 only took pictures of the locality using an old 1960s camera. The significance here was that the type of camera and film used (black and white). Authenticity is important here as interviewee ten felt that the quality of picture resulting from the use of this type of camera would share similarities with the pictures taken by the perpetrators back in the

1960s. This enabled a more authentic picture to be recorded of the locality in a photographic style more akin to that of the 1960s, so ensuring authenticity and factual realism of the surrounding areas. The photos were occasionally shown to friends, but are primarily used to aid the investigation and better understand the topography of the moors. No other types of souvenirs are collected.

In conclusion, both interviewees 9 and 10 shared a number of commonalities in terms of subject matter interest pre visit. In the case of interviewee 9 the importance of geopolitical overtones associated with site was deemed as important, similarly interviewee 10 placed much importance of the locality and it having an historical blue print, that could be cross referenced with non-fiction crime literature. Both interviewees shared like similarities pre visit in so much that they both collected information pre visit or became totally obsessed with the subject, to such a point that it would totally take over their lives (this was certainly the case with interview 10). In terms of instrumental and terminal values pre visit, interviewee 9 was more concerned with their own intellectual development, whilst interviewee 10 placed importance upon independence and freedom associated with developing his own travel plans and itinerary.

During the visit itself interviewees 9 and 10, had some marked differences. In the case of interviewee nine it was important for him to better understand the magnitude of the catastrophe from a human perspective, facilitated by visiting local information providers such as the museum. This enabled a better appreciation of the human stories associated with the loss of life at site and to become more broadminded in relation to the bigger political picture to emerge from the tragedy. In contrast interviewee 10 whilst at the site was more interested in experiencing the physical locality and its environmental conditions, resulting in creating an

exciting experience. In terms of souvenir collection at the site, interviewee 9 had a huge appetite for collecting and archiving ticket stubs and entrance tickets / flyers. These items would be stored in a book and viewed at a later date, primarily in the comfort of their own company. In addition interviewee 9 rarely took photographs as he deemed this disrespectful to the victims and their families. In the case of interviewee 10, photographs of the location were taken on a 1960s black and white camera to create an authentic experience and to give the interviewee a sense of place so as to better help locate the unmarked grave of Keith Bennett. No other types of souvenirs were collected by interviewee 10.

Post visit issues associated with physical access and electronic access via the internet was detailed as important. In the case of interviewee 9 it was important that he could re-visit the site electronically via the internet so as to view construction development and the on-going individual stories that were emerging from the site. This also resulted in a feeling of sadness as the magnitude of the catastrophe was still present for all to view albeit via the web. In the case of interviewee 10 physical access and the ability to re-visit the site within a one hour time frame from home, was deemed as being important, thus enabling him to check any physical clues or corroborate any new theories associated with the investigation.

Finally the instrumental and terminal values post visit for both interviewees were the same, albeit in the context of their own location. In the case of interview 9 both courage and wisdom emerged as the final two values: the courage to visit independently, to engage in an act of respect and finally the wisdom resulting from the trip making the interviewer appreciative of the opportunity to visit Ground Zero and engage in an act of respect that was both humbling and at the same time knowledge informing. In the case of interviewee 10 both

courage and wisdom also emerged as the final two values, but the context of these two values differed slightly from that of interviewee 9. In the case of interviewee 10 the ability to impress associates, family friends and general acquaintances in his everyday life by showcasing his part time interests does itself elevate his status within the confines of his everyday life. Aligned to this was the notion of courage (an instrumental value) which emerged with the interviewee feeling that he made a difference experiencing terrible extremes of environmental conditions in an attempt to bring closure to the investigation. The wisdom associated with the investigation (a terminal value) and the subsequent acquisitions of knowledge are themselves something that made the interviewee feel strong, knowledgeable in the fact that they have tried to make a difference and locate the unmarked grave of Keith Bennett.

4.6 Interviews 11 & 12. Dark conflict site (the results from interview 11 & 12 have been combined in the table below, a corresponding number associated with each interviewee is used to denote each interviewees response). Dark conflict sites are associated with acts of warfare and battlefields. Many of the sites have education and commemorative overtones.

Table 16. Interviews 11 & 12. Dark conflict site

<u>Attributes</u>	<u>Consequences</u>	<u>Instrumental value (IV)</u>	<u>Terminal value (TV)</u>	<u>Souvenir collection</u>
Can be viewed on-line (11) Historical overtones (11&12)	Enhance knowledge pre-visit/ very time consuming (11&12)	Independence to plan the visit (11) Intellect (12)	Freedom (11) Wisdom (12)	Interview 11 , took pictures and used social media (Facebook) to distribute upon return home, also collected ticket stubs
Environment /topography, still reflective of past (11&12)	To better understand / experience the event. Sadness (11&12)	To corroborate or dispel elements of one's own imagination (11) Courage (12)	Sense of accomplishment (11&12) Exciting life (12)	Interview 12 , very rarely collected souvenirs, took a few photographs of place.
Can be revisited fairly cheaply and within a particular time frame (11) Longevity of experience (12)	A tendency to want to return to Cyprus on an ever increasing basis (11) Sadness (12)	Forgiveness (11) Imagination (12)	Social recognition (11) A sense of accomplishment (12)	

Interviews 11&12 were representative of the darker stage of the spectrum. Interview 11 was undertaken with a visitor who had visited Nicosia's Green Zone in Cyprus. Cyprus is an island in the Mediterranean sea that was ruled by the British until 1960, when the country was granted independence. In 1974 the country was invaded by its near neighbour of Turkey, post a period of sectarian tensions. Post the 1974 invasion, approximately one third of the northern proximity of the island is under Turkish control, the northern part is now a disputed region with the Cypriot Government in the South demanding full withdrawal of the occupying Turkish army, (in the north of the island). The north of Cyprus is named the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, and is only recognized by Turkey. During the invasion

of 1974, Nicosia saw much battle and loss of life on both sides, with many of the Cypriot community having to leave their properties in Nicosia. The city of Nicosia is now divided in half, with the northern part under Turkish control, the central zone under United Nations administration and the south under Cypriot control. Whilst it is now possible to cross from the south and enter the Turkish operated part of Nicosia, much of the landscape is still reminiscent of the 1974 conflict. Interview 12 was carried out with a visitor to the site of Battle of Bosworth (Leicester). The Battle of Bosworth was part the Wars of the Roses, with two opposing armies from the Houses of Lancaster and York that was fought during the latter part of the 15th century. The battle itself was fought on 22 August 1485, and was won by the armies of Lancaster, led by Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who became the first English monarch of the Tudor period. The opposing army led by, Richard III, who was himself killed in the battle saw the demise of the last king of the House of York. Many consider Bosworth Field to mark the end of the Tudor dynasty and a defining moment in English history.

As a starting point both interviewees 11 and 12 shared a number of commonalities in terms of subject matter interest pre visit. In the case of interviewee 11 the contemporary historical blueprint associated with the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus was a key motivational factor in facilitating his interest in the subject. Likewise interviewee 12 was also motivated by the history of war, albeit of the medieval time period (historical overtones was identified as an attribute by both interviewee 11 & 12, pre visit). In addition the importance of technology to facilitate and inform the visit was also identified as an attribute for interviewee eleven. This greatly enhanced the information search and visitors knowledge pre visit, the main information search was associated with the 1974 invasion and information sources such as YouTube were used extensively to add context to the locations that he would be visiting whilst in Cyprus.

The search on-line whilst beneficial in aiding the acquisition of knowledge for interviewee 11, proved to be a very time consuming process and resulted in the interviewee, spending too long and wasting valuable time in the search for information (a consequence).

“Before I visit Cyprus, I always check sites such as YouTube so as to get a better feel for the locations that I am going to visit. This is a wonderful information source, the only problem is that I spend too long viewing the materials, I become totally immersed in it and possibly spend too long on-line”

Interview 11, male, aged 22

Another key factor that emerged from the Cyprus interview related to the importance of independence when planning the visit (an instrumental value). The opportunity to plan the visit at the individuals own pace, with limited involvement from travel intermediaries was a fundamental part of the pre-trip planning process, resulting in a feeling of freedom (a terminal value).

“I always ensure that I make the most of arranging all my travel needs, I try to be independent. I always research the airlines and hotel, I never book with a travel agent, I feel totally free and in control when I plan the trip for myself”

Interview 11, male, aged 22

Interestingly whilst interviewee 11 extensively used the internet and social platforms such as YouTube to obtain information pre visit, in contrast interviewee 12 would predominately rely upon his father and the local library as a key information source with the internet being used on fewer occasions. Indeed whilst the information search process was a labour of love, both interviewees commented upon the enormous amount of time they spent pre visit searching for information (a consequence).

“I love carrying out research related to the location, I tend to visit the library, but this can result in me spending hours pre-visit on researching the subject matter”

Interview 12, male, aged 21

The time spent on research was enjoyable (interviewee 12) but it would often result in the trip being put back a week or so, due to the time spent researching the origins of the battle, this had its upside as intellect was developed (an instrumental value) resulting in wisdom (terminal value).

Whilst at site interviewee 11 and 12 both detailed how important the typology of the locality was (an attribute) in facilitating the experience at site. For both individuals it was important for the landscape in which they were present to still have characteristics of the time period associated a bygone age. In terms of interviewee 11, Nicosia still has remnants of conflict present to view today and the typology is in places still very much characteristic of the time when the invasion took place in 1974.

“By visiting such a site I feel that I have experienced the authentic, I can put pictures together from media and in my mind and authenticate them”.

Interview 11, male, aged 22

This component of the visit could then be corroborated via news reports of the day, now available on YouTube.

“I love being able to view media (albeit on line) that shows locations back in the day, if I can then visit them and compare the now and then and view the differences or similarities, it gives me a real thrill, experiencing where history happened”.

Interview 11, male, aged 22

In the case of interviewee 12 it was important for him to feel that the environment associated with the battle had not greatly changed and that the hills and contours of the battle site had not changed over the last five hundred year.

“It is important that the landscape where the battle took place has not changed greatly, this enables me to better appreciate the many components associated with the battle and where the dying would have lay”

Interview 12, male, aged 21

Both interviewees commented on the importance of topography at site that enabled them to better understand the conflict (a consequence), but this often resulted in a feeling of despair and sadness as a result of the terrible inhumane actions of war.

Whilst the visit it interesting, I always think of the death and suffering that occurred on such a beautiful island”

Interview 11, male, aged 22

“The visit often makes me feel sad, thinking of all those people dying in this field”

Interview 12, male, aged 21

In terms of instrumental values at the site, interviewee 11 detailed how the visit enabled him to better understand and corroborate elements of his own imagination against the reality of the actual site. In comparison interviewee 12 response differed and detailed how he had felt courageous at the location of the battle (an instrumental value). This feeling was primarily a result of him imagining himself as a warrior doing battle.

“I often try to imagine what it must have been like going into battle.”

Interview 12, male, aged 21

These patterns of imagination as detailed by interviewee 12 ultimately resulted in the interviewee becoming reflective in an attempt to better appreciate what he would have done himself, if he had been placed in a like battle scenario. Such thoughts resulted in a feeling of courageousness, a belief and feeling associated with the physicality of place that he would have been a brave and loyal soldier. Finally both interviewee 11 and 12 detailed how they felt a level of accomplishment (a terminal value) whilst at their respective site, a feeling that evolved from the need to visit the site and experience at first-hand what they had read, heard or viewed in the media regarding the events at the site. Interestingly interviewee 12 added that the experience associated with his consumption of place made him feel very excited and further added to his exciting life.

“I get a real physical buzz when I visit a battle site, I physically tingle, I see myself as a brave soldier and often act out the actions of battle in my mind, it’s amazing”

Interview 12, male, aged 21

In terms of souvenir collection whilst at the site, interviewee 11 engaged in souvenir collection. This primarily took two forms, firstly the taking of pictures on a digital camera (predominately of landscape and building), which upon return home would be uploaded and distributed via social media, namely Facebook. These pictures would be showcased on the aforementioned social media platform to friends and acquaintances. Secondly any brochure or ticket related material collected at site associated with transportation or museum literature would be archived in a scrapbook upon returning home. This would not be shared but occasionally viewed post the visit, approximately two or three times per year.

In contrast interviewee 12 rarely collected souvenirs, on occasions he would take pictures via a digital camera of monuments, rather than of people. The individual saw very little value in taking pictures and preferred to appreciate the environment and full access rather than take home pictures of the site, experiencing the site was more important than taking pictures. The small number of pictures that were taken were not shared electronically or via any media platform, instead they were stored in a photo catalogue and viewed at a later date, on a very occasional basis.

Finally post visit interviewee 11 made much of the importance of being able to re-visit the destination, quickly and cheaply after the initial visit (an attribute). This made the interview feel reassured in so much that if he had missed anything on the initial visit he could then access to the location easily at a later date and clarify any remaining issues re the conflict. The aforementioned point specifically relates to the ability to re-visit Cyprus physically as opposed to the electronic equivalent

“If I have missed anything or need to return to the physical site, I can just jump on a plane and be there relatively quickly and cheaply”

Interview 11, male, aged 22

In contrast, interviewee 12 expressed the importance that the experience of the visit must stay with him for several weeks after the visit (an attribute), as this made them feel that the visit had been worthwhile.

“The experience of the visit must stay with me after the visit has ended. If I still feel a tingle several weeks after the visit, then it’s been a worthwhile experience”

Interview 12, male, aged 21

In terms of consequences post visit interviewee 11 became almost addicted to his historical quest wanting to return to Cyprus, particularly Nicosia on an ever increasing basis, such was

his fascination with the contemporary history of the island (the increasing number of visits had financial ramifications for his limited budget).

“The need to keep revisiting almost becomes addictive, after a month or so I want to return to the island, this has major financial ramifications for me”

Interview 11, male, aged 22

In contrast interviewee 12 became very sad (a consequence) as a result of the visit with the image of battle, being continually replayed in his mind and continually reminding him of the reality of the horrors of war and of his own family.

“Whilst I get a real buzz out of the visit, I often feel very sad after the visit, the magnitude and horrors of this civil war in particular make me feel very sad. I often end up thinking of my own family and appreciate how lucky we are to be alive and all have good health”

Interview 12, male, aged 21

In terms of instrumental values interviewee 11 became increasingly knowledgeable of the conflict and his ability to empathise with the perceived enemy (the invading Turks) and to engage in the act of forgiveness became easier (an instrumental value).

“The visit enables me to better appreciate the conflict from both sides and not to be so critical of one particular side”

Interview 11, male, aged 22

In contrast interviewee 12 emphasised the importance of facilitating his imagination (an instrumental value) in an attempt to benefit from the visit.

“As a direct result of the visit my imagination becomes alive”

Interview 12, male, aged 21

Once back home and within the confines of family and friends interviewee 11 would bask in the glory and social recognition (often awarded by his friends), that he had visited an unusual destination associated with conflict (social recognition, a terminal value).

“I love it when I get home, my friends ask me where I have been, I tell them about my adventure, they are always really impressed that I been to a conflict zone”

Interview 11, male, aged 22

In contrast, interviewee 12 emphasised the importance of feeling a sense of accomplishment from the visit (a terminal value). The accomplishment was primarily associated with the ability to physically visit and interact with a location that had experienced real life battles albeit in the distant past.

“I always feel whole when I return from the visit, the opportunity to visit a place where a battle has taken place and to experience the location is no mean feat.

Interview 12, male, aged 21

In conclusion, interviewees 11 and 12 shared a number of commonalities and differences. Firstly both interviewees greatly appreciated the role of history as a pre-cursor to any visit; interviewee 11 would employ the internet to facilitate this process; in contrast interviewee 12 would visit the library. Both interviewees placed much importance on the role of the visit to enhance intellect, interviewee 11 placed importance upon independence and freedom in

relation to planning the trip, whereas interviewee 12 was more intellectually driven. Whilst at the respective site issues associated with topography of the region as enhancers of the experience were important to both visitors and issues associated with understanding the conflict, enhanced imagination and a sense of accomplishment, were common themes to emerge from both visitors. In terms of souvenir collection at the site, interviewee 11 collected pictures via a digital camera and use social platforms to distribute them to friends post visit. In contrast interviewee 12 saw little value in collecting souvenirs and chose only to take a small number of pictures of place. Finally, post visit interviewee 11 detailed how he, had obtained a better understanding of the conflict and issues associated with social recognition from his peers for engaging in such an adventurous lifestyle were also identified as being important. In contrast interviewee 12 detailed how longevity of experience of visit was important and that a feeling of accomplishments was identified as a key factors post the visit.

4.7 Interviews 13 & 14. Dark camps of genocide (the results from interview 13 & 14 have been combined in the table below, a corresponding number associated with each interviewee is used to denote each interviewees response). Dark camps of genocide are those site where state sponsored / sanctioned genocide has taken place

Table 17. Interviews 13 & 14. Dark camps of genocide

<u>Attributes</u>	<u>Consequences</u>	<u>Instrumental value (IV)</u>	<u>Terminal value (TV)</u>	<u>Souvenir collection</u>
Must be part of Jewish / own family history (13) Tour, pre-bookable (14)	Increased knowledge of one's own family history, very time consuming (13) Cost (14)	Intellect (13&14)	Wisdom (13) Happiness (14)	Interview 13, took pictures and used social media (Facebook) to distribute upon return home.
Must have formal interpretation / provision for public visitation (13) Fully accessible (14)	Feeling of sadness (13) Time consuming (14)	Responsibility (13) Self-control (14)	A sense of accomplishment (13) Wisdom (14)	Interview 14, never collected souvenirs, use of mind pictures and narration to friends upon return home
Become stronger (emotionally) (13) Has bespoke web site (14)	Improved knowledge of history, a sense of sadness (13) Sadness (14)	Improved intellect (13) Imagination (14)	Inner harmony (13) Sense of accomplishment (14)	

Interviews 13&14 were representative of the darkest stage of the spectrum. Interview thirteenth was undertaken with a visitor from Auschwitz concentration camp. The camp is located in Poland as is a collection of concentration and extermination camps built and operated by Nazi Germany during World War II. Auschwitz has three main components, these being Auschwitz I (the base camp), Auschwitz II–Birkenau (the extermination camp) and Auschwitz III–Monowitz. Approximately another 45 satellite camps also existed at the location. Whilst originally constructed to hold Polish political prisoners, it was later used to facilitate the Nazi Final Solution. From 1942 till late 1944 trains delivered men, women and children of the Jewish faith from all over German occupied Europe (other prisoners included Polish, Romani and Sinti, Russian POWs, Jehovah's Witnesses and other people of diverse heritage from all over Europe). These individuals were instantly either put to death in purpose

built gas chambers, or put to work for the German war effort, eventually resulting in them being worked to death. By far the largest number of deaths was those from the Jewish community, running in several million. The site now stands as museum.

Interview 14 took place with a visitor from the Tuol Sleng genocide museum is based in Phnom Penh, the capital of Cambodia, SE Asia. The museum was originally a high school that was subsequently requisitioned by the Khmer Rouge regime (a left wing political party that ruled Cambodia between 1975-1979). The former school was used as a prison to house perceived enemies of the state. In reality these individuals were innocent men, women and children who were tortured and subsequently executed, running into the tens of thousands.

As a starting point both interviewees 13 and 14 differed in terms of pre-visit attributes, firstly interviewee 13 emphasised the importance of his own family's history in relation to any site to be visited. If the site had no tangible links with his own family history then he would probably not visit. In this case the individual had distant relatives at Auschwitz and therefore it had a historical reference point in the context of his own family. Sites that were not specific to his own family history were not of interest.

“Generally speaking I only visit sites associated with my own family or where a tenable link can be made with my own faith”.

Interview 13, male, aged 20

Whilst the historical context of the visit should not be underestimated it was clear that such a visit did greatly facilitate his own knowledge of family members who may have been at Auschwitz, but this itself was very time consuming (a consequence) and whilst relevant it

would result in the interviewee spending vast amounts of time both on and off site searching for information related to his family.

“I tend to spend too much time searching for information on-line pre-visit and hours at site walking round looking for bits of information or talking with guides and other visitors”

Interview 13, male, aged 20

This kind of information search greatly facilitated the individuals intellectual capacity (an instrumental value), and ultimately his own wisdom (a terminal value).

In contrast interviewee 14 detailed the importance of the facility to pre-book a tour, pre visit as a key attribute, ensuring that interviewee 14 had peace of mind and saved time, as the guide would be waiting for her at site. Of key importance here was the fact that she felt out of place in a location / country that she was not familiar with and therefore did not want to leave things to chance. The pre-bookable tour took a lot of guess work out of the visit and made interviewee feel safe in the knowledge that she would be included on the tour upon arrival at the museum (an attribute). This ensured that she had peace of mind knowing that she would not miss anything on the tour as the guide was informed and approved by the venue. This resulted in a saving time, not only at the site as the guide would be waiting for her, but also it reassured her that if she missed anything or was unsure about the historical context of some of the artefacts on display, then they could be clarified by the guide.

“I always book a guide before I visit the site. The use of a guide is ideal, more so when I am away from home. The guide gives me reassurance and safety, if I get lost they can help, if I need extra information they can help and if I am unsure of anything I can ask the guide, it really reassures me”

Interview 14, female, aged 50

Interestingly whilst the guide was useful a consequence here was the cost associated with hiring the services of a guide, which over the duration of the holiday could add up and might put strains on her limited holiday budget (cost a consequence).

“Whilst I always use the services of a guide on holiday, one potential downside is the cost associated with hiring them. This can often become a huge financial burden and can impact on my limited budget”

Interview 14, female, aged 50

Both interviewees 13 & 14 shared a commonality with pre-visit instrumental value, this being increased intellect as a result of the information search engaged in prior to the visit.

“I always try to carry out a pre-visit information search before arrival at destination; this ensures that I have some background knowledge to the visit”

Interview 13, male, aged 20

“Pre- arrival at destination I tend to check out a number of on-line sources. This ensures that I have a pre-requisite knowledgeable and that any issues that I am unsure about can be run past the guide when I arrive”

Interview 14, female, aged 50

Finally interviewee 13 detailed wisdom as a terminal value with interviewee 14 detailing happiness as a terminal value, this was primarily associated with the reassurance of a guide waiting at site to facilitate the forthcoming trip and developing her intellectually.

“It might seem a little silly, but I feel happy, safe in the knowledge that my guide will be waiting for me when I arrive, on hand to deal with any issues or problems”

Interview 14, female, aged 50

In terms of activities at site interviewee 13 detailed the importance of information acquisition, facilitated by formal methods of interpretation (an attribute), it was of paramount importance for interviewee 13 to be informed of the layout of the site. So rather than just stumbling along with a guide book and trying to guess what something was, the use of signage and displays whilst at the site facilitated understanding and comprehension.

“All sites should use signage to inform the visitor, or should have a museum on the site so as to better inform the visitor”.

Interview 13, male, aged 20

Whilst formal methods of interpretation were important, the items on display would often make the interviewee feel very sad, (a consequence) and whilst he craved information relating to the site, the displays and information techniques brought home the horror of the origins of the site. The interviewee was of the opinion that all content on display at the site should have accompanying information so as to inform the visitor of what exactly happened at the site and the terrible evils that were committed against innocent people. Whilst such visitor information tools were of major importance and were evident at Auschwitz, it often resulted in a heavy feeling of sadness throughout the visit and the subsequent days after. It was important for the interviewee to fully explore the site and whilst not being totally controlled by signage, he was grateful for information and reference points during his own visit.

“I am always very grateful for any signage that is available during my tour; this enables inanimate items of infrastructure to come alive and take on a whole new perspective”.

Interview 13, male, aged 20

The interviewee detailed how he felt that he had a moral responsibility (an instrumental value) to better inform people of the terrible evils that had been carried out at the site and of the political doctrine that had condoned these mass killings. Against this backdrop and in relation to those who died in Auschwitz, interviewee 13 felt that he had a moral duty to keep their memories alive. This resulted in him feeling a sense of accomplishment (a terminal value), by visiting the site and informing others of the terrible crimes that had been perpetrated in the name of nationalism; he felt an overwhelming sensation of accomplishment.

“The terrible things that happened here should never be allowed to happen again, take a picture and tell the world of the horrors that went on here”.

Interview 13, male, aged 20

At the site and in relation to interviewee 14, the interviewee showed some commonalities with interviewee 13 and stated that full access to the site was also of paramount importance (an attribute). By this the interviewee detailed how at some previous sites she had visited, access had been limited with areas cordoned off or inaccessible to the visitor. Sites where access was not limited made the interviewee feel in control. A downside to this was that the time taken to view the site in its entirety was greatly increased (a consequence). During the tour the interviewee pointed out that it was often very hard to maintain self-control of emotions, the magnitude of the horrors at the site were clear to see albeit it in celluloid format (photos were displayed of the former prisoners at information points around the building). The ability to maintain ones emotions and not cry at the site was important to the interviewee as she did not want to appear soft and out of respect for those who had suffered a terrible fate

at the S-21 site, she chose self-control (instrumental value) as an act of respect to those who had perished there. When pressed further interviewee 14 stated:-

“I always try and ensure that I don’t cry at site, I try to stay in control of my emotions, the sadness that I experience here is nothing in comparison to the horrors that these people experienced”.

Interview 14, female, aged 50

By having full access to the site and a guide at hand, the interviewee could better able to understand the context of the site, and its historical context and to better appreciate the events that led to the rise of the Khmer Rouge, ultimately resulting in wisdom (a terminal value).

“It is important that I fully understand the historical context of the rise of terror (the Khmer Rouge), by having unrestricted access and by chatting with my guide, I am better able to understand how such a terrible evil was allowed to evolve”.

Interview 14, female, aged 50

Whilst at the site and in terms of souvenir collection, both interviewee 13 & 14 displayed polar opposite actions. In the case of interviewee 13 souvenir collection was an absolute necessity and during the visit souvenirs were collected in abundance, primarily these were in the form of photographs that were taken and stored digitally on a camera. Not only were pictures taken, the individually also took video recording of the visit and would disseminate both the picture and film recording on Facebook after the visit. The individual actively encourage friends who visited Auschwitz to take pictures of the location. In addition to taking pictures, the interviewee would also take a physical item such as stone or twig from the site and showcase it upon return home. The stone or twig were primarily used as a motivation devise by the individual, as a way of making himself feel better on a bad day at work. By viewing the two items no matter how unhappy he was, he would always feel positive as those individuals who were imprisoned at the site where the stone or twig came from, did not have

the luxuries that he took for granted on a daily basis. Such an approach in remembering his own good fortune in having a life, against the backdrop of those who died in Auschwitz, played long in his memory, making him feel a responsibility to keep their memories alive.

“I always try to stay positive in my daily life, no matter how bad my day is, it’s nothing in comparison to what they had endure on a daily basis”.

Interview 13, male, aged 20

“The physical items such as the twig or stone or even the photograph enable me to remember the terrible evil acts that were carried out against innocent people, we must not forget them”

Interview 13, male, aged 20

In contrast interviewee 14 detailed how she did not collect physical souvenirs, in terms of taking pictures because it was deemed too much hassle to carry a camera. Instead mind pictures were taken and stored in the interviewees own memory and recalled at a later date, post the visit. Some of the mind pictures would be described through narration to friends upon return home.

“I can’t be bothered with a camera, they get in the way. For me the best thing is to use my memory to take the photograph, this way I can always remember it and then use it to relay the storey of my visit to my friends when I get home”.

Interview 14, female, aged 50

Post the visit, interview 13 had indeed become an emotionally stronger person (an attribute), citing the personal experience at the site making him value his own life more and being more outspoken about the political ideologies that perpetrated such crimes. In addition to this the individual was more knowledgeable of the history of the period, but was aware that his experience at site had left him with a huge sense of sadness (a consequence). Finally the

acquired knowledge and improved intellect (an instrumental value) made the individual feel at peace (inner harmony, a terminal value) knowing that those that had facilitated this great evil act were gone, but his people and the Jewish faith had survived.

“I feel very strong and almost euphoric having visited such a site, the terrible people who attempted to exterminate the Jews are gone, but my faith, the Jewish people and our homeland survive”.

Interview 13, male, aged 20

Interviewee 14 post the visit and upon returning home, would further corroborate components of the tour that were of particular interest to her; this was facilitated via the internet. It was of key importance for the interviewee, for the museum to have its own web site (an attribute) that was run and managed by the museum itself, as this gave legitimacy to the subject content.

“I often go on-line after the visit, to corroborate certain elements of the visit or to obtain more information on a particular issue that was raised during the tour. A bespoke web site run by the attraction or suggested by the attraction is very useful for me”.

Interview 14, female, aged 50

Post the visit, interviewee 14 detailed how she felt very sad (a consequence) and this was a direct result of viewing the museums web site and it reminding her of the terrible evils that were carried out at S-21. By viewing the web site post visit, she was able to re-visit the horrors of the tour from the comfort of her home, which further enhanced her imagination (an instrumental value) of the horrors that the prisoners must have endured whilst incarcerated at S-21. Finally after the visit interviewee detailed that she felt a feeling of accomplishment (terminal value), the opportunity to visit S-21 whilst very sad, made her appreciate her own

freedoms and quality of life, that was free from tyranny and oppression, this shares commonalities with observations made by interview 13 post visit to Auschwitz.

“I always try to carry out a pre-visit information search before arrival at destination; this ensures that I have some background knowledge to the visit”

Interview 13, male, aged 20

“Pre- arrival at destination I tend to check out a number of on-line sources. This ensures that I have a pre-requisite knowledgeable and that any issues that I am unsure about can be run past the guide when I arrive”

Interview 14, female, aged 50

In conclusion, both interviewees 13 and 14 shared a number of commonalities and differences. Firstly both interviewees placed much importance upon the role of history as a key motivation for visit. Issues associated with intellect and wisdom were key drivers for information searches pre-visit, with interviewee 13 identifying the process as being time consuming. Interviewee 14 identified the financial constraints of hiring a tour guide pre visit as being financially challenging. In terms of activities at the site, both interviewees 13 and 14 shared some similarities in so much that they both placed much importance on full access at site and the role of interpretation as a key facilitator for the visit. Other issues included responsibility to inform future generations of such atrocities and the wisdom obtained from such a visit experience. In terms of souvenir collection, interviewee 13 preferred to collect physical items such as twigs and stones and take photographs so as to remind himself, of the terrible atrocities that were committed, and the use of social media was also employed to disseminate the photographs. Interviewee 14 did not collect any souvenirs, choosing to employ her memory as the method of collection and narration, this was used post visit to disseminate the story from the visit. Finally post the visit, interviewee 14 engaged in a follow

up activity on-line to corroborate or to investigate facts that had evolved from the visit. Issues associated with freedom and democracy emerged as important factors for both interviewees, post the visit with them both appreciating the benefits of living in a safe world, in contrast to the world that the victims of Auschwitz and S-21 had occupied.

4.8 Chapter summary

This chapter has discussed the result's from the 14 interviews. The results show how visits the lighter sites tend to be based around, edutainment, fun and family enjoyment. The results from the darker sites tend to show that reasons to visit tend to be more complex and associated with academic interest, to better understand and empathy with the victims. The next chapter will discuss the results in relation to the established theory.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

5.0 Chapter overview

This chapter discusses the results from the 14 interviews. The results are discussed in relation to the established literature in existence. The chapter concludes with a review of the theory that underpins these results.

5.1 Discussion of results section 1 (sites 1-6, lightest, lighter & light)

Interviews 1-6 were within the lightest, lighter and light categories, resulting in 5 themes being identified as follows: use of technology to inform visit, edutainment, friendship & kinship / social recognition from peers, imagination and souvenir collection. These will be discussed in more detail below.

5.2 Use of technology to inform visit

A key theme to emerge from the interviews was the use of technology to inform the visit. Indeed in interviews 1, 2, 3, 4 & 5 all interviewees expressed the importance of viewing the site / location by electronic means prior to the visit; normally facilitated by the internet. The provision to view the site by electronic means pre visit, to pre-purchase tickets and search for information was deemed important by this group. The presence of technology pre arrival was deemed as being important as it greatly saved time in the information search process; in interviews 1, 2, 3, 4 & 5 the ability to save time was highlighted as being important. This is corroborated in research by Brown & Chalmers (2003) and Buhalis & Amaranggana (2015) who detail how information search employing the internet is common. In addition Morty (2007) identified a 57% internet usage for visitors seeking information pre or post visit to

check subject matter or to corroborate facts associated with a visit to a museum. More recently Law et al (2014) identified an increasing number of users employing IT pre visit to heritage based enterprises which further reflect the results from this study. Wilbert & Hansen (1995) detailed how many of their interviewees employed electronic sources pre and post tour to further aid their understanding of subject matter associated with murder mystery. The use of technology during murder mystery is also discussed and advocated by Claiborne et al (2014) to aid orientation associated with the locality. This relates to objective 2 and highlights how visitor perceptions of dark sites and on-site experience are affected by the use of technology to inform the visit. This has ramifications for the manner in which technology enhances the visitor experience. The main implication here is that visitors in the light regions tended to use technology to clarify operational issues such as access, toilets, provision for merchandising and to corroborate facts.

5.3 Edutainment

A key theme to emerge from the interviews was the importance of education in terms of improving the overall intellect of the visitors. In all of the interviews (1-6) the role of education; in relation to a visitors motivations to visit was key. Reference to the importance of educational overtones associated with visit are detailed by Anderson (2001), Ottenheim & Hoogenboom (2014) and Pallud & Straub (2014) who identified education as a major factor in facilitating the visit to a museum or related attraction. Hein (2006) and more recently Hein (2014) detail how the role of education, particularly within a historical context, has developed much over the last fifty years within museums, with provision now increasingly geared towards the stimulation and development of knowledge in a clear and informative manner, and is also present within this research

The shared educational experiences of visitors, were discussed by Seaton (2000) who explored dark tourism motivations for those visiting the Somme & Flanders, (First World War battlefields in France). A number of motivational factors are identified from his research, for example an almost community like belongingness developed, with the participants becoming a “closed, hermetic community” displaying pilgrim like tendencies whilst together, sharing a common goal of educational discovery, common purpose and interest. Hartmann (2014) also discusses how many dark visitors display group tendencies associated with kinship and belonging. Post the trip (Seaton 2000) many of the individuals used their newly found knowledge to impress friends and to further facilitate their own social inclusion / acceptance. This was similar to this study and has implications for facilitating group kinship and belonging as a result of such a visit.

In terms of physical access facilitating education and understanding, Anderson & Storksdieck (2007) and more recently Garrod (2014) comment upon the importance of full site access whilst at a site as being of major importance as it further aids knowledge acquisition. Issues associated with enhanced access at site, as an enhancer of a visit and to aid education are supported in the work of Page (2002). Falchikov (2013) also supports the notion that by providing full site access, we facilitate the visitors understanding of the site and subsequently facilitate their education.

Finally the use of tour guides (as educators) was deemed as being of major importance in interview 5 and has received some commentary in the literature. For example the importance of better understanding and experiencing history was discussed by Beeho & Prentice (1995) and Mohamed et al (2014) detail how a richer understanding of history is facilitated by the use of tour guides, who bring history to life and enhance visitor understanding. The use of

former inmates as tour guides has been discussed at length by Strange & Kempa (2003) who employed an outreach programme of ex-prisoners to act as guides at Robben Island. Dubin (2006) and Zerva (2015) have advocated of the use of ex-prisoners to enhance the visitor experience and to better explain the origins of the conflict that resulted in them being incarcerated at such sites. Murphy (2010) and more recently Skinner (2015) discuss the use of the inmates/ terrorists/ freedom fighters as tour guides in the context of the troubles in Northern Ireland. Murphy (2010) and Skinner (2015) go on to detail how the use of such individuals does itself present possible problems in terms of presenting both sides of the conflict in an objective manner without political biased or overtones of propaganda. The aforementioned comments relate to objective 3, whereby visitor behaviour and attitudes with on-site experience are enhanced by educational methods that employ elements of both education and entertainment. The main implication here is that whilst education was important, the manner in which it was facilitated was key. Indeed many of the learning styles were in part aided by entertainment. For example interview 3 (British Museum, Egyptian exhibition, London) where the whole family benefited from the entertainment overtones that accompanied the exhibition.

5.4 Friendship & kinship / social recognition from peers

Families as a physical entity make up much of consumer base of many tourist resorts (Obrador 2011). The role of the family and its interrelationship with members has historically fallen into four key areas. Firstly in the area of management studies, associated with the decision making process (Bronner & de Hoog 2008) and the role of children in decision making and their level of involvement (Gram 2007), secondly in the area of tourism studies associated with the social construction of the family (Carr 2011 and Shaw et al 2008), thirdly from a chronological perspective based around the history of mass tourism and the vacation (Rugh 2008 and Walton 2000) and finally the role of the family in celluloid (Hallman &

Benbow 2007). Whilst much of the conceptual research paints the tourist as a lone traveller thirsting for the real and authentic, one can reference here with the work of Urry (1990) and the tourist gaze. In this analysis Urry (1990) details how the travel experience is consumed through the gaze, a viewing action in which the tourist views differing scenery which are themselves not the norm. One could further discuss the work of Urry (1990) in the context of the family experiencing a dark gaze, with elements of fun, enjoyment and kinship being integral to the experience. A shared experience with elements of romanticisation, spirituality and experience all being viewed in the company of the family unit.

A key theme to emerge from the interviews was the importance of the visit to facilitate friendship and kinship. In interviews (1-6) the personal benefits associated with the visit, included enhanced relationships and affection. Not only did the content of the visit facilitate discussion post-visit, it also actively enhanced relationships. This supports the findings from a number of previous studies including Shilling & Mellor (1998), Stone (2009; 63) and more recently Tie et al (2015). Stones (2009; 120) research states ‘the emotional experiences of these assembled social groups allow individuals to interact on the basis of shared ideas and concepts’. The term ‘collective effervescence’; as detailed by Shilling & Mellor (1998; 196) works well in describing a process whereby the collective meeting of individuals, under the umbrella of shared beliefs, allows the members to become familiar with a specific tragic event and share, debate and discuss the event and its ramifications resulting in togetherness, affection, support and kinship, this also supported by Cohen et al (2015). A key theme to emerge from Shilling & Mellor (1998) research was the importance of social recognition from peers. In all interviews (1-6) the feeling of empowerment, post the acquisition of knowledge and the subsequent dissemination of this knowledge was clear to see. Interestingly here the acquisition of knowledge was possibly less to do with the personal acquisition of knowledge for intellectual purposes and potentially more to do with the benefits and spin offs

associated with the ability to impress one's own peers. In a number of cases the visitors felt empowered knowing that their loved ones were increasing their knowledge, something that could be showcased in the presence of friends and relatives at a later date. Once again the actions associated with the acquisition of knowledge to impress one's own peers has been documented in the established literature. For example Wagstaff (2008) and Wilson (2014) detail how the spoken word is used extensively by the visitor post visit to better shape and detail their experiences. This subsequently improves their own image or that of their nearest and dearest (in some cases their children) within their own community, as being informed and knowledgeable. This shared experience relates to objective 4 and highlights the importance of the family as vessel through which enjoyment is experienced and the retrospective nature by which the visit is remembered. The main implication here is that the visit greatly enhanced the dynamics of visiting group and that the more senior members of the group felt immense pride as a result of their loved ones showcasing their new found knowledge, this was also a key finding in research by Jung et al (2015).

5.5 Imagination

A key theme to emerge from the interviews was the importance of the visit to facilitate imagination. In interviews (1-6) the role of imagination was alluded to by the visitors, whether this specifically related to the visitor engaging in some kind of reminiscence at site or feeling nostalgic. The role of actors and guides at site can greatly facilitate the imagination and emotions of the visitor and this was discussed a great length by Bagnall (2003), Bagnall & Light (2003) and Mossberg et al (2014). All of these authors detail how the visitor's imagination, emotions and all round experience can be greatly enhanced via the use of actors and appropriately designed costume provision.

In interview 3 the use of the camera greatly facilitated the imagination of the visitors. Not only did the camera enable pictures to be taken of the visit, it also facilitated a strand of creativity as opportunities for reportage style photo taking and free styling in the context of photography resulted in some very interesting and creative pictures of the family. This was further discussed by the father who is at pains to point out how the whole family became very imaginative when using the camera, and employed it to recreate a particular time period, in this case, ancient Egypt, with the kids becoming actors in this piece of performance art. The utilisation of photographs and individuals becoming actors or characters in the picture is not unusual and was discussed at length by Hicket (1998), Chappell et al 2011 and more recently Robinson (2014). The main implication from the aforementioned comments is that many of the lighter sites facilitated the visitors imagination resulting in improvisation and reportage style photo taking, with many of the visitor becoming actors in their own imagined world. This has ramifications for management of site, as planners need to better appreciate that by encouraging personal moments of improvisation, the visitor experience is enhanced.

5.6 Souvenir collection

In terms of souvenir collection, all interviewees (1-6) engaged in this type of activity. In the case of interviewees 1, 3, 5 & 6 physical souvenirs were collected in the form of photographs; with the majority of pictures taken being stored electronically and shared via Facebook, generally associated with the family or of the surrounding locality. Littrell et al (1994), Swanson & Horridge (2004) and more recently Kim & Jang (2014) have associated the collection of souvenirs with the purpose of aiding memory of the encounter and to confirm it; picture souvenirs often act as a reminder associated with time, a tangible commodity associated with an intangible experience (ibid 2004). Coleman and Crang (2002) and more recently Larsen (2014) note that the process of taking pictures enables the tourist to modify space to suit their own understanding and social construction of a particular place. So a

picture of a geographical land mass may be of particular relevance when we better appreciate the symbolism of the area and its relevance to family members. Brown & Chalmers (2003: 28) detail the importance of camera technology that enables the tourist to “take the visit back home”.

In relation to the collection of physical souvenirs, interviewee 5 purchased literature during the visit, such as a brochure or programme so as to facilitate the visit, and is corroborated by Littrel et al (1993) and Maaiah & Masadeh (2015). The brochure / literature would traditionally be autographed by the guides and was used to corroborate the visit and to add weight to the magnitude of the role of the guides, who were themselves custodians of history and in some cases former inmates. McIntosh & Schmeichel (2004) and Yablon (2014) detail the importance of autograph collection and the role that it plays in confirming a visit to a particular location or adding proof to an encounter with a particular individual. In addition to which interviewee 5 would take pictures on his digital camera, mainly of the architecture and building at site, taking pictures of buildings and related architecture was a key finding in Liin (2013) research, thus enabling the visitor to better appreciate the site in the context of the building design of a previous era.

In interview 2 and 4, no physical souvenirs were collected and instead memory was employed as a means of archiving. The use of memory to record or archive a visit is encapsulated within the literature associated with autobiographical memories and has been detailed by Conway and Pleydell-Pearce (2000) and also William (2008). Autobiographical memories works on the premise that individuals can store components of an event or a collection of events from a particular time period, associated with personal experiences, individuals, objects, and events as experienced within a particular time frame or locality and this can be recalled at a later date. Wagstaff (2008) and Pera (2014) underline the importance of conversation and storytelling as methods of recollection and confirming the visit and detail

how the utilisation of the spoken word enables the visitor to better shape and detail their role and experience at site and subsequently improve their image within their community or peer group. The main implication here is that at the lighter sites visitors tended to engage in the collection of merchandised souvenirs, that were commercially manufactured on mass and were deemed to be an integral part of the visit, resulting in self-esteem. The lighter site visitors not only expected to take commercially manufactured souvenirs home, they were happy to pay for the souvenirs. This specifically relates to objectives 3 & 4 and highlights the importance of souvenir collection as informers of visit, a tangible item that can be showcased post visit to reinforce a positive image of the attendee.

5.7 Discussion of results section 2 (sites 9-14, dark, darker and darkest)

Interviews 9-14 were within the dark, darker and darkest categories, and resulted in 6 themes being identified. These are as follows: use of technology to inform visit, emotional, self-recognition / intellectual, to better understand, education and souvenir collection. These will be discussed in more detail below.

5.8 Use of technology to inform visit

A key theme to emerge from the interviews 9, 11 & 14 was related to the use of technology to facilitate the visit. The use of technology pre and post visit to aid information retrieval was and is a common practise and was previously identified in a number of studies including Brown & Chalmers (2003) and also by Morty (2007). Cyr (2014) also details how visitor loyalty can be enhanced by a suitably designed and updated web site. Of particular interest with this study (the study associated with this thesis) was the manner by which technology was used less to do with hygiene factors and more associated with pure educational information searches. Interestingly a main implication here the use of technology was less to do with the operational side of the visit such as locations of toilets, avoiding queuing and merchandising provision (as noted in the lighter studies), and more to do with pre-information search so as to inform the visitor about the magnitude of death, or post visit to corroborate information obtained from the visit. This is a marked difference from the use of technology within the lighter sites. This relates specifically to objective 2 and highlights the differences by which visitors to darker sites use technology; to search for a differing type of information (often more academic in nature) pre and during the visit.

5.9 Emotional

A key theme to emerge from interviews 9, 12, 13 & 14 was the sadness, empathy and in some cases the excitement of the visit. In the case of interviews 10 & 12, both interviewees stated how the experience of visit, in the case of interview 10 a visit to a murder site and in the case of interview 12 the visit to a battle site, made them both excited. This was predominately facilitated by their imagination that better enabled them to appreciate the locality and the environment in which they were situated. In the case of interview 12 much thought was given to the battle in which the interviewee superimposed himself on to the battle scene and imagined himself as a brave combatant doing battle. The emotional state of visitors to dark sites is discussed at length by Biran & Poiria (2014) who detailed how visitors at dark sites often experience a range of emotional feelings. Lamont (2014) also detailed how the collection of souvenirs in the form of photographs at sites with special historical significance can elicit feelings of excitement and in the case of Webbers (2015) research on Auschwitz, extreme sadness. Interestingly here the magnitude of suffering at dark sites had a tangible impact upon visitors, resulting in them experiencing a range of feelings associated with isolation, despair, sadness and empathy (Kidron 2013). This was not the case at the lighter sites. Also the use of imagination in an attempt to realise the magnitude of battle at certain sites resulted in the visitor feeling excited and imagining themselves becoming a hero in battle (Miles 2014). Issues associated with the honour, commemoration and viewing death in battle as being a heroic sacrifice in the mind of the visitor were previously discussed by Herborn & Hutchinson (2014). The aforementioned observations relate to objective 3 & 4 and highlight how location can impact upon emotions, with darker sites holding a greater propensity to elicit feelings associated with isolation, sadness and empathy for those who have died at site.

6.0 Social recognition / intellectual

A key theme to emerge from the interviews 9, 10 & 11 was the social recognition that the interviewee received as a result of the visit and the level of intellectual enquiry that evolved from the visit. In interviews 9 & 11 a historical blue print underpinned the visit and saw both interviewees receiving many accolades from their peer groups post visit. Issues associated with the social and intellectual benefits for visiting dark sites are discussed by Kang et al (2014), Biran & Poiria (2014) and Isaac & Çakmak (2014). The main implication of this is that whilst social recognition was greatly appreciated by the interviewees, the visit also afforded them knowledge and a greater intellectual capacity to understand the events surrounding each locality. This relates to objective 4, with experience post visit being used to inform the visitors intellect. In contrast those individuals, who had visited the lighter sites, were themselves primarily more concerned with showcasing their talents and new found knowledge for aesthetic reasons rather than for educational purposes.

6.1 To better understand

A key theme to emerge from the interviews 9, 10, 11, 13 & 14 was the importance of the visitors to better understand the events that lead to the subsequent atrocity. Giblin (2013) details how sites such as Ground Zero can provide a common focus for people to explore the past, to better understand the events of the past and to act in a reconciler manner. Issues of better self-understanding and conscience were key finding to emerge from Isaac & Çakmak (2014) study looking at a WW2 transit camp (death camp) in the Netherlands. Interestingly the need to better understand the wider macro historical factors associated with the rise of a particular political party or the manner in which such negative powers were allowed to develop were identified in interview 13 & 14. These interviews concur with research carried out by Sharpley (2014) with particular reference to genocide in Rwanda and Ambrosewicz-

Jacobs et al (2014) study, which investigating the origins and cause of holocaust in Poland during WW2. A key issue raised by the interviewees was the need not only to understand the magnitude of the loss of life in terms of quantifiable means, but also to better appreciate the narrative of history that led to this particular loss of life (McKinnon 2014). Interviewees suggest that they have a greater need to understand the apathetic nature and limited response of those global powers that stood by and watch the atrocities unfold; this was not the case with visitors who visited the lighter sites. This relates to objective 5 and highlights the importance of stakeholders to better understand and appreciate dark visitor educational needs; so that content can be better informed and interpreted.

6.2 Education

A key theme to emerge from interviews 9, 11, 12, 13, 14 was the importance of education. This was somewhat different from the educational requirements of those visitors who visited the lighter sites. This is to say that those who visit the darker sites were motivated by a purer more academic form of education that hinged on intellectual enquiry and educational capacity, rather than supercilious feeling of educational empowerment as a result of visiting such sites. In interviews 9 (Ground Zero), 11 (Nicosia), 14 (Cambodia) a common thread was related to geo-politics and history and the role that it had played in facilitating the visit. Duval (2002) and more recently Elander (2014) detail how the geopolitics associated with a region or location can greatly facilitate an individual's propensity to visit a particular dark site, more so if the individual has an interest with the locations geopolitical history. A key implications here is that visitors to dark sites as opposed to their lighter contemporaries, tend to engage in educational acquisition. For example those visiting darker sites emphasised educational attainment, intellectual enquiry and for the attainment of knowledge (Nelson

2015). This compares to those visiting lighter sites where emphasis was placed on the kudos that might be afforded to them by peers.

6.3 Souvenir collection

All interviews, 9-14 engaged in souvenir collection as summarised in the following table (see Table 18).

Table 18. Souvenir collection by interview

Interview	Souvenir
9.	Ticket stubs
10.	Photographs
11.	Photographs, ticket stubs.
12.	A few photographs of place
13.	Photographs, twigs and stones.
14.	No physical photographs, just mind pictures

Of particular interest here was the manner by which a less formal method of souvenir selection was engaged in when compared to the souvenir collection of those visiting lighter sites. This is to say that those visits to the darker sites appeared more respectful and knowledgeable of the modus operandi of souvenir collection at such sites. The use of the moral compass was indeed employed with great affect at such sites so as to ensure that the collection of souvenirs was done in a more manageable and appropriate manner, that did not do harm to the environment or offend the sanctity that the locality held. A key theme to emerge from the interviews was the informal manner by which souvenirs were collected and of the respectful and moral manner that accompanied the taking of such souvenirs or physical

artefacts. Also the darker site visitors did not hold the belief, that they had a given right to engaged in souvenir collection or expect facilitates for the sales and promotion of souvenirs to be available.

The themes that emerged from each of the interviews are presented in schematic format below (see Table 19 & 20).

Table 19. Schematic summary of results (lightest, lighter & light)

Shades 1-6 Lightest, lighter & light	Theme	Example
	Use of technology to inform visit	Locate toilets, facilities & become familiar with layout
	Edutainment	Learning and fun
	Friendship & kinship / social recognition from peers	Family & loved ones coming together, improved knowledge
	Imagination	To facilitate fun
	Souvenir collection	Traditional merchandise

Table 20. Schematic summary of results (Dark, darker & darkest)

Shades 9-14 Dark, darker & darkest	Theme	Example
	Use of technology to inform visit	To better appreciate the magnitude of loss
	Emotional	Grief, excitement, understanding
	Social recognition / intellectual	An educational experience
	To better understand	Magnitude of loss
	Education	To appreciate geo-political & historical factors which led to the events
	Souvenir collection	Non traditional

6.4 Chapter summary

The results below detail the main themes to emerge from the interviews 1-6 (lightest, lighter & light) and from interviews 9-14 (dark, darker & darkest). The main fundamental differences between the light and dark attractions can be discussed in a twofold manner. Firstly the light themes that emerged tended to be based around social interaction, enjoyment, and some small elements of edutainment. Issues associated with the use of technology to investigate layout, location of toilets and provision for food and merchandising were evident as was family interaction, fun and traditional purchase of souvenir based merchandise. Secondly and within the confines of the darker extremities, technology was employed to educate visitor with emphasis on ‘academic issues’, so the visitor could better understand the geo-political and historical factors that led to the loss of life. In addition, to the themes that emerged from the darker sites tended to be more catharsis in nature with grief, respect and empathy being played out. Finally souvenir collection at such sites tended to be much less commercialised with the visitors own moral compass being employed to justify the selection of souvenirs.

This chapter has reviewed the empirical data in relation to the established theory. Issues associated with the motivations and consumption patterns associated with visit and souvenir collection activities have been identified and this has been discussed in relation to the established literature. The next chapter will discuss the conclusion to emerge from the research.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS.

7.0 Chapter overview

This chapter will act as a concluding section in which the 4 main objectives of the research will be addressed. The conclusion will discuss in detail the 3 main underpinning objectives of the research with commentary relating to the level at which each of the objectives has been addressed. Issues associated with recommendations and limitations of the research will also be addressed.

7.1 Conclusion

In conclusion a number of interesting issues have emerged from this research. The initial aim of the research was :-

To further our understanding of the motivations and on-site activities of contemporary dark tourism site visitors with particular reference to the methods associated with archiving the visit in terms of souvenir hunting, photography and other related actions.

The aim was facilitated by a number of objectives, these being:

7.2 Objective 1. Review critically the literature on tourist consumption of sites associated with dark tourism, including informal locations in order to identify research gaps.

This objective has been addressed within the literature review. The literature suggests that a whole host of motivations are at play in terms of those factors that facilitate the movement of individuals to visit dark sites. Interestingly the research findings show how visitors to lighter sites (interviews 1-6) are primarily motivated by edutainment like characteristics, choosing to interact on a personal basis with family and friends. In addition, within the lighter themed

interviews, technology was employed more as an operational information tool to assess hygiene factors, issues associated with site access, hospitality and toilet provision, car parking and in an attempt to avoid queuing. In comparison those visitors to darker sites (interviews 9-14) also employed the use of technology to inform the visit, but the information searches tended to be driven more from an academic perspective, with issues associated with history, geo-politics and the thirst for a greater understanding of such events, being key to the visit. The practical implications of this conclusion are that the management and subsequent provision for educational content at all sites (irrespective of light / dark positioning) should be tapered more specifically for the end user type.

The above has implications for those individuals tasked with managing and running dark tourism sites. At the lighter sites managers need to be much more aware of the distinct expectations of the lighter and darker visitor types. For example those at the lighter end of the spectrum will require information in literature and electronic format related to the operational side of the attraction, including toilets, car parking, access, souvenir and merchandising facilities. In contrast managers at those sites that are deemed darker in nature need to better provide for their visitors thirst for knowledge and academic instruction related to geo-politics and events informing history. This must be included in related information sources both printed and electronic pre and post visit. In addition to which the creation of alliances with higher education providers, will enable subject content to be better informed and in turn disseminate information more in keeping with user needs and expectations.

7.3 Objective 2. Investigate visitor perceptions of dark tourism sites in relation to: awareness; interest; ethical beliefs; information search; motivations and constraints.

This objective has been addressed within the empirical data collection. The results suggest that tourists consume dark tourism sites differently.

Firstly visitor interest and awareness at the lighter sites (interviews 1-6), tended to be informed by the internet and media sources, such as YouTube. Generally speaking where visitor awareness and interest was enhanced, it was often as a result of some overriding entertainment like factors, for example remember the role that *The Rock* played in facilitating the family's visit to the London Museum, ancient Egypt exhibition. Where group dynamics and enjoyment were enhanced, this tended to be at the lighter themed sites, with edutainment being used predominately to facilitate enjoyment, and to a lesser extent education.

In terms of issues associated with ethical issues of visitors at the lighter sites, (interview 1-6), interviewees tended to be informed by senior family members who's internal moral compass would often inform the family unit as to what was and was not acceptable in terms of those actions carried out whilst at the site. A key theme to emerge from the lighter interviews was the role played by family members and relatives in informing the visit. Indeed the actions of being frightened and of watching family members being frightened was condoned and facilitated by senior family members at the London Dungeon. Likewise the impromptu nature of the younger family members who visited the London museum, ancient Egypt exhibition, saw them acting out scenes of ancient Egypt in a reportage style, reminiscent of a Bangles music video (Walk Like an Egyptian). Indeed whilst the aforementioned actions appear harmless on the face of it, the actions of making family members delight in the frightening of others within the confines of an exhibition associated with murder (The York Dungeon), or the improvised actions of teenagers next to a glass cabinet containing the mummified remains of a child (the British Museum, Egyptian Exhibition) seem somewhat unethical, immoral and crass by any means of the imagination.

In terms of information searches at the lighter sites (interviews 1-6), these often involved the use of technology to obtain information about the site for operational reasons such as locating toilets, viewing car parking facilities, assessing merchandise options and to ensure that the

individual participants were as knowledgeable as possible regarding the ergonomic design of the site. The lighter site visitors tended to be motivated, in part by educational and entertainment based factors and they place much importance on using the new found educational knowledge to impress friends and family. The experience here tended to be associated with interactivity, enjoyment and peer recognition of knowledge.

Finally motivations and constraints associated with the lighter themed sites (interviews 1-6) were firstly in terms of motivations based around enjoyment with some educational overtones. The importance of family cohesion and kinship should be in no way underplayed as the visits were hugely instrumental in facilitating family togetherness. In addition to this, the peer recognition afforded to all family members as a result of the visit was also key to the visit, with senior family members relishing the opportunity to tell friends of their wonderful day out and their new found knowledge. Secondly the constraining factors at the lighter sites (1-6) were associated with the availability of time for all members to visit together and the financial costs associated with visiting the site.

In contrast, visitor awareness and interest at the darker themed sites, (interviews 9-14), tended to be informed initially by the internet. This was less to do with assessing the operational facilities available or to buy tickets pre-visit and more to do with establishing the context of the history that surrounded the site. Indeed a marked difference exists here, in comparison to the lighter visitors who would predominantly use the internet pre-visit to establish the level and type of facilities available. In contrast issues associated with on-site facilities such as catering, merchandising and car parking held little interest to the darker visitors with issues associated history and geo-politics being a key component of the information search.

In terms of issues associated with ethical and moral beliefs, visitors at the darker sites, (interviews 9-14), tended to be more empathetic and understanding of the victims of such

historical events. It was clear from a number of the interviews at the darker sites that issues associated with visitation appeared to involve more respect for those that had lost their lives in that vicinity and the motivations for the visit were more akin with wanting to better understand the reasons for such a loss of life.

In terms of information searches at the darker sites, (interviews 9-14), these often employed technology to obtain information about the site for educational / academic reasons. In contrast to the visitors to lighter sites the internet was used pre and post visit to re-establish or corroborate information and facts that had emerged from the initial visit. This was much less to do with the retrieval of information out of curiosity or to impress peers and more to do with a better educational understanding of the historical, political and geo-political factors that had conspired and brought about the rise to power of a particular political ideology.

Finally motivations and constraints associated with the darker themed destinations (interviews 9-14), were firstly in terms of motivations based around the need to better understand, pay respect and show empathy for the victims of such an atrocity. Secondly, the constraining factors at the darker sites (9-14) tended to be time orientated, with the incessant thirst for knowledge impacting negatively on the amount of time available.

The above has implications for the management of such sites in terms of user needs associated with awareness; interest, ethical beliefs; information search; motivations and constraints. At those lighter themed sites the role of the family in facilitating the visit is key and therefore site managers needs to be acutely aware of this and accommodate accordingly. This for example might infer the need for family provision to be softer with information points being aimed at those specific age ranges of the various family types. In addition to which information points positioned in a linear manner at the beginning, middle and at the end of any exhibition, with interactive overtones also required. At the darker sites

management, need to ensure that provision is underpinned by the key motivations associated with the visit, namely that of education. Any provision should ensure that information is detailed in a factual holistic manner with less emphasis on delivery methods and more on content and methods of interpretation. In addition the information type required by those visiting the darker sites must be more factual in content with issues associated with unlimited access at site; key to the visitors experience.

7.4 Objective 3. Examine visitor behaviour and attitudes associated with on-site experience including souvenir hunting, photography, and chronological distance.

This objective has been addressed within the empirical data collection. Within the lighter sites (interviews 1-6) in terms of visitor behaviour associated with on-site experience / activity, souvenir hunting, photography and subsequent archiving and storage of materials, such activities tended to be more commercialised and formalised. In many of the lighter sites the interviewee's behaviour at site was interactive and often driven by the artefacts on display, or by the tour guides at the site. In terms of the on-site experiences and activities, these were often associated with physically accessing all areas of the sites, with full access being of major importance. Activities associated with interactive role play were also a motivation for those visiting the lighter sites, with family members engaging in attempts at frightening one another or acting out particular themes associated with the location of site. In terms of souvenir hunting and photography, both of which were engaged in, a majority of visitors took digital pictures or films via camera or mobile phone at the site, often with loved ones present. These picture and films were often uploaded via social media platforms such as Facebook. The more formal purchasing of mass produced commercial souvenirs such as printed literature, DVD's, T-shirts and autographed material was present throughout many of the lighter interviews.

Indeed many of those who visited the lighter sites had purchased commercially available souvenirs which had no real significance with the location visited (e.g. Egyptian Mummy mask made in China).

Post visit and upon returning home, archiving and storage of materials sourced from each visit was engaged in. This traditionally took the form of electronic dissemination of media via social platforms, archiving of printed materials in bespoke scrapbooks and in some cases the production of educational master classes for friends and relatives. Interestingly here the use of the master class would often involve loved ones, who would showcase their new found knowledge to friends and relatives at a specially convened event. This was not the case for those visitors who had visited darker sites, as they chose to keep their new found knowledge and souvenirs to themselves.

In contrast at the darker sites (interviews 9-14), and in terms of visitor behaviour associated with on-site experience / activity, souvenir hunting, photography and subsequent archiving and storage of materials, visitors tended to adopt a more informal and less commercialised approach. Many of the visitors to darker sites tended to employ technology to obtain educational and academic information or to corroborate facts already established. The acquisition of knowledge was less to do with showcasing ones knowledge to peers and more to do with educational attainment of knowledge so as to better understand and appreciate those factors that conspired to bring about such a tragedy or loss of life. Interestingly the acquisition of souvenirs was much less formal with a moral compass being employed by each individual so as to guide the removal of certain artefacts. Indeed the on-site experiences and activities of many of the tourists to darker sites tended to be individual and bespoke in nature with none of the traditional commercial trappings of the lighter tourist venues. Issues

associated with reverence and respect and suitable actions in terms of observing on site protocol were all raised in the interviews, with those who had visited the darker sites, as were issues associated with empathy and care for the memory of those lost in battle or victims of history. In terms of souvenir related activities, the difference for those visiting darker sites when compared with those visiting lighter sites was somewhat more subtle, in that many of those visiting darker sites were much less concerned with the formal collection of commercial, mass produced trinkets / souvenirs and in some cases opted for products of nature such a stone or twig, or where appropriate pictures of place were taken, individuals were rarely present in the pictures.

Finally and in terms of the archiving and storage of artefacts from darker sites, many of the visitors did indeed collect souvenirs in an informal manner, often associated with locality such as twigs or stones, educational literature and photographs. Interestingly none of these souvenirs were exhibited in the traditional ways displayed by those who had visited lighter sites. Indeed this was often a personal matter that was not shared or disseminated via any form of social media.

The above has implications for the physical delivery of those attractions that are light or dark in characteristic. Firstly at those sites that tend to be lighter in nature; provision for the purchasing of souvenirs must be explicit, with opportunities for photo shoots, interaction with attraction staff and information points being made widely available throughout the visit. In terms of those sites that are darker in nature the physical collection of traditional souvenirs is less important and greater importance is based upon informal opportunities for collection of naturally occurring items such as stones or twigs and the method of archiving employed by such travellers. A pre-requisite knowledge of the modus operandi of such travellers will enable those responsible for site management to provide a better visitor experience and ensure that experience at site is bespoke.

7.5 Objective 4. To examine critically visitors behaviors and attitudes post experience in terms of archiving and storage of materials sourced from visits to dark sites.

This objective has been addressed, a conclusion has been made and the recommendations have been presented in a twofold manner, these being academic recommendation and further research recommendations.

The empirical data shows that within the lighter sites (interviews 1-6) in terms of visitor behaviour associated with on-site experience / activity, souvenir hunting, photography and subsequent archiving and storage of materials such activities tended to be more commercialised and formalised. In many of the lighter sites the interviewee's behaviour at site was often facilitated by the environment and often driven by the artefacts on display, or by guides. Souvenir hunting and photography, was actively engaged in, the majority of visitors took digital pictures or films via camera or mobile phone at the site, often with family present. These picture and films were often uploaded via social media platforms such as Facebook. Souvenirs such as printed literature, DVD's, T-shirts and autographed materials were often purchased or collected at site. Post visit and upon return home archiving and storage of materials sourced from each visit was engaged in. This often took the form of electronic dissemination of media via social platforms, archiving of printed materials in scrapbooks and in some cases the production of educational master classes for friends and relatives.

In contrast at those darker sites (interviews 9-14) and in terms of visitor behaviour associated with on-site experience / activity, souvenir hunting, photography and subsequent archiving and storage of materials, these tended to be more informal in nature and less commercialised. Many of the visitors to darker sites tended to employ technology to obtain educational and academic information or to corroborate facts already established. The acquisition of knowledge was less to do with showcasing ones knowledge to peers and more to do with

educational attainment of knowledge so as to better understand and appreciate those factors that conspired to bring about such a tragedy or loss of life. Issues associated with reverence and respect and suitable actions in terms of observing on site protocol were all raised in the interviews. In terms of souvenir related activities many of those visiting darker sites were much less concerned with the formal collection of commercial, mass produced trinkets / souvenirs and in some cases opted for products of nature such a stone or twig, or where appropriate pictures of place were taken but no individuals were present in the pictures. Finally and in terms of the archiving and storage of artefacts from darker sites, many of the visitors did indeed collect souvenirs in an informal manner, often associated with locality such as twigs or stones, educational literature and photographs. Interestingly none of these souvenirs were exhibited in the traditional ways as displayed by those who had visited lighter sites.

7.6 Objective 5. Draw conclusions relating to the primary and secondary data and make recommendations to key stakeholders based on those conclusions.

This objective has been addressed and has been detailed in the conclusion chapter. Firstly the primary data details how visitors to light and dark sites have differing expectations and needs and this has been appraised in relation the already established secondary data. Finally recommendations have been made in relation to key stakeholders in relation to ensuring sustainability of the site, and providing for differing user needs based upon the light or dark characteristics of the site.

7.7 Recommendations

The key recommendations to emerge from this research are categorised under 3 sub-headings, the first being recommendations for industry, the second being academic recommendations and thirdly future research recommendations.

7.8 Recommendations for industry

Recommendation 1. Greater awareness of the role of edutainment and education at lighter and darker sites.

The aim of this recommendation is to enable those operating and managing lighter and dark tourism sites, to become more aware of the significance of edutainment and education for the success of their operations. The role of the internet was highlighted by all visitors to lighter sites as having a primary role to play in educating and entertaining visitors. As such, operators need to investigate and invest in edutainment activities pre, during and post visit. This may be achieved through online quizzes, fact sheets and computer generated games available pre and post visit and the use of interactive computer based activities at strategic points at the venue. The costs associated with this recommendation are those related to the market research to identify the types of edutainment activities to be engaged with and the costs of developing, implementing and maintaining such activities. The benefits of this is that it allows the operation to maintain contact with visitor and establish a long term relationship that will enhance customer relationships.

Running parallel to the above points and in conjunction with darker sites; the utilisation of links with educational institutions or charitable enterprises with the intention of raising the profile on global issues associated with genocide, racism, nationalism, war and politics, could be just the mechanism to better identify educational content for the site. By establishing such links with external information providers, the quality and content of material on display at a

site will be more in tune with visitors educational needs. Those visitors based at the lighter edges of user needs tend to require information to be specific to operational factors, such as on-site facilities including toilets, food provision, merchandising, souvenir and merchandising. Those individuals who are tasked with the design and upkeep of dark attractions need to be more acutely aware of the differences that exist in terms of the nuances associated with dark attraction visitors and cater for them accordingly. For example, the lighter visitors in this research tended to have an edutainment bias, therefore sites catering for the lighter visitor should ensure that interactive IT provision is available throughout the visit. The use of handheld tablets and downloadable apps that encourage interest and education and at the same time stimulate enjoyment are a necessity here. Those visitors to darker sites were more orientated around information retrieval and academic development, therefore provision should relate to bespoke information, that is easily available and highly educational in nature, the provision of quick response codes (QR codes) would be one method to facilitate this.

Within the confines of the visitor needs, traditionally visitor requirements have tended to reflect the needs of visitors to lighter sites but this study highlights the different information needs of visitors to darker sites which tend to be societally, ethically, academic and intrinsic. As such, in addition to providing generic information on site layout and location, those managing darker sites also need to provide higher levels of information that academically and socially engage with their visitors. This recommendation may be achieved by researching the needs of differing customer sites, via questionnaire, focus group or interview. The costs associated with this recommendation are primarily associated with obtaining empirical data associated with visitor needs and perception. This data could be collected relatively hassle free and inexpensive via the use of self-administered questionnaires given out at various entry points at site and by creating links with Universities and charitable enterprises in an attempt

to better inform content at site and to better present the historical narrative associated with global conflict. Other possibilities include creating bespoke events that time chronologically with holidays or commemorate specific dates associated with the event at the locality. The costs associated with this recommendation are primarily associated with attracting third parties to narrate and inform content at the attraction; based on engagement with customers. This could be achieved by creating links with higher education providers and developing a project that could form the basis for a final year honours degree dissertation. The benefits of this recommendation are two fold, firstly attraction content will be more acutely informed by up to date and relevant research and secondly a clearer user profile will emerge so that entertainment and educational visitor products can be developed and delivered in a bespoke manner.

Recommendation 2. Create activity based options at lighter sites.

The aim of this recommendation is to facilitate comprehension, understanding, enjoyment and interactivity at site / venue. The use of costume and role play facilitated by actors has many educational benefits as well as aiding family cohesion and enjoyment. The creation of activity based options at lighter sites will enhance customer loyalty and further enhance group dynamics resulting in benefits associated with enjoyment and family kinship. This recommendation may be achieved by creating links with local drama societies or battle re-enactment providers such as the Sealed Knott Society. The costs associated with this recommendation are low and can be recouped from increased visitor number and associated merchandising spin offs, sponsorships and sales. The benefits of this recommendation are that visitors will become more informed of educational content and visitor enjoyment / experience will be enhanced.

Recommendation 3. Develop strategies that preserve the integrity of darker tourism sites.

The aim of this recommendation is to enable those operating darker tourism sites to preserve the integrity of the site. At present those visiting sites prefer to take personal artefacts, such as stones or twigs, from the site rather than engage with the commercial activities more often available at lighter sites. The obvious implication of these activities is that, over time, the site loses its significance. As such, operators must balance the integrity of the site with the need for visitors to feel associated with it. Running parallel to this recommendation, site managers also need to ensure that the sourcing of natural products at the site, does not result in the physical environment becoming scarce. Alternative solutions that might better safeguard the environment and at the same time give a feeling of belonging and involvement at site could include donations, individual sponsorships, group alumni and engraved seating, all of which enable the visitor to support the attraction and at the same time maintain its long-term survival. This recommendation may be achieved by operators investigating alternative ways of developing such allegiances in visitors. It may be achieved by establishing sponsorships whereby sponsors receive newsletters and key updates on developments and activities, developing a "friends of" society or groups who are associated site members who are themselves custodians of the site, charged with ensuring its long term survival. This allows the site to maintain its integrity whilst allowing visitors to satisfy their need for recognition and loyalty to the site and it enables visitors to demonstrate an understanding and appreciation of the significance of the site. By encouraging visitors to dispense with collecting natural artefacts and becoming involved with the successful long-term sustainability of the site, it will thus retain many of its natural resources that are often a key reason to visit and at the same time create a feeling of collegiality, kinship and membership for all visitors. Also by providing internet based activities that visitors can engage in pre and post visit, those managing a venue / site are better able to provide and sustain long-term

interest in the site. The costs associated with this recommendation are those related to the market research to identify the types of activities that would best suit visitors in developing loyalty with the site and the costs associated with developing, implementing and maintaining such activities.

Recommendation 4. Review the role of technology both pre and post visit for both light and dark sites.

The aim of this recommendation is to better identify user needs in terms of technological requirements for users pre, during and post visit. This research has identified that individuals use technology to source information. At the lighter sites it tends to be more operational in style (toilets, car parking and merchandising facilities) and at the darker sites more associated with dissemination of educational content. By identifying usage patterns and user needs pre, during and post visit a clearer user profile will emerge. The aim of this recommendation is to enhance the visit by ensuring that visitors can view the attraction pre and post visit. The use of virtual reality at the Anna Frank museum in Amsterdam has ensured that the physical access associated with site does not prevent individuals from viewing the museum irrespective of physical ability or geographical distance, as both are overcome via the use of virtual reality. The ability to view the attraction via technological means will ensure that the visitor experience is interactive, accessible and educational. Running parallel to this, should be the ability to purchase tickets pre arrival and to avoid the perils associated with queuing; as this will have further ramifications for creating a positive visitor experience. This recommendation may be achieved by developing on-line provision that enables visitors to navigate the site and its various locations remotely from site and at the same time purchase entry tickets pre arrival. The costs associated with this recommendation are high as technology needs to be designed and purchased so as to facilitate the virtual experience and the operations associated with ticketing. Such costs can be in part off set via the leasing of

such technology from third parties, rather than solely purchasing the technological infrastructure in its entirety. The benefits of this recommendation are that user access will no longer be informed by physical abilities of the visitors, but by their access to technology. The ability to visit an attraction irrespective of national boundaries or geographical entity will be enhanced and operational factors associated with queuing times will be dramatically reduced.

This recommendation may be achieved by reviewing internet usage of visitors pre and post visit and subsequently identifying specific technological user needs. The costs associated with this recommendation can be met in part by using advertising revenue streams associated with advertising via the sites web page. The benefits of this recommendation are that visitor will have additional opportunities to inform their knowledge, both pre and post visit.

Recommendation 5. Develop ways of creating customer loyalty.

The aim of this recommendation is to better ensure that visitors are retained post visit. The utilisation of relationship marketing techniques should ensure that visitors are kept abreast of sector / industry developments and encouraged to repeat visit. The creation of a loyal customer base has ramifications at lighter sites in terms of repeat visits and opportunities for merchandising and sales. At those darker sites provision for education and historical context can be developed further by the use of on-line ‘master classes’ associated with the history of the site. These recommendations may be achieved by developing a specific marketing strategy so as to ensure customer loyalty. The costs associated with these recommendations are primarily associated with developing marketing and distribution channels so as to better inform the visitors as to the on-going developments at site. The benefits of this recommendation are that attractions will be better able to market and promote new exhibitions and create a cradle to grave approach to customer loyalty.

7.9 Academic recommendations

Recommendation 1. Changes to literature on visitor behaviour and educational needs.

This study has highlighted the different needs of visitors to light and darker attractions. As such, models of consumer behaviour relating to dark tourism need to reflect these changes. This is because they will assist those reviewing behaviour of consumers to appreciate different motives of those visiting dark and light sites. It is intended that the main findings from this study will be published more generally in journal, conferences and book chapters.

The study has also highlighted the different educational user needs of visitors to light and darker attractions. As such, the literature relating to the educational user needs of visitors to dark tourism sites needs to better mirror such variances. The benefits to stakeholders are that providers can better acknowledge and develop resources to satisfy visitor needs. This finding from this study will be disseminated through conference presentation.

Recommendation 2. Raise the profile of the importance of dark tourism research within the academic community.

This study has in part identified the lack of consensus regarding the importance of dark tourism research within the academic community. Specifically there is a need to make research within dark tourism more 'main stream'. The benefits of this is to maximise synergies with other academic sources such as criminology and consumer behaviour.

7.9.1 Future research recommendations

Recommendation 1. Undertake additional research into the needs (for example educational, social and information) of those visitors to both light and dark sites.

The aim of this recommendation is to better identify the needs of visitors to both dark and light sites. A key part of the dark attraction is to educate its visitors and provide for their social and esteem needs. It is with this in mind that the academic community need to better identify user needs and expectations. Future academic research needs to investigate specifically needs of visitors both at the lighter and darker sites. Whilst this research has identified mannerisms and characteristics associated with on-site consumption at such sites, more specifically research is needed into the type and content of information that individuals need at darker sites. This recommendation may be achieved by carrying out additional empirical research at dark tourism sites. The costs associated with this recommendation can be met by establishing a relationship with higher education providers, so as to assist in the empirical data collection. The benefits of this recommendation are that by better understanding the needs of each visitor, the site can deliver an individuals and bespoke personal service, based around educational attainments and goals.

Recommendation 2. Additional research into user needs and consumption patterns based on segmentation type.

The aim of this recommendation is to better identify consumptions patterns of visitors based on categorised characteristics such as age, gender, visitor frequency and motivations. Therefore future research should investigate issues associated with the differences that exist within gender and cultural consumption as inhibitors and facilitators associated with the visitation to dark tourism sites. This recommendation may be achieved by carrying out additional empirical data collection associated with gender, ethnicity and culture. The costs associated with this recommendation are primarily associated with data collection and

processing. The benefits of this recommendation are that the attractions will be better able to identify lesser visitor types and put in measures to better attract and provide for this user type.

Recommendation 3. Additional research into the ethical and moral compass that informs the visit and post visit activities.

The aim of this recommendation is identify ethical constraints that inform the visit of each individual and the subsequent actions during and post visit. This is primarily associated with researching the actions of individuals in situ at site and of those factors that dictate actions and activities and the level at which the moral compass is used as tool to dictate such activities no matter how ethical or unethical they might appear. This recommendation may be achieved by observing the activities of visitors at dark sites and noting methods of souvenir collection and related activities. The costs associated with these recommendations are associated with identifying visitor consumption patterns, and methods required to record this process. The benefits of this recommendation are that a clearer understanding will emerge of the subconscious mind of the visitor and its role in guiding actions of visitors whilst on site.

Recommendation 4. Changes to the methodological data collection styles.

This study has highlighted the over reliance upon quantitative data collection techniques that make up the majority of dark tourism research. A such, additional qualitative based studies are needed in the area of dark tourism research as this will enable a better understanding of motivations and behavioural patterns that will in turn allow for a better understanding of visitor needs and expectations.

7.9.2 Chapter summary

This chapter has brought closure to the research, conclusions have been presented and these have been related to the initial aim and objectives of the research. This approach has allowed for a review of the initial objectives which, have been addressed. Issues surrounding the recommendation associated with the research have also been detailed.

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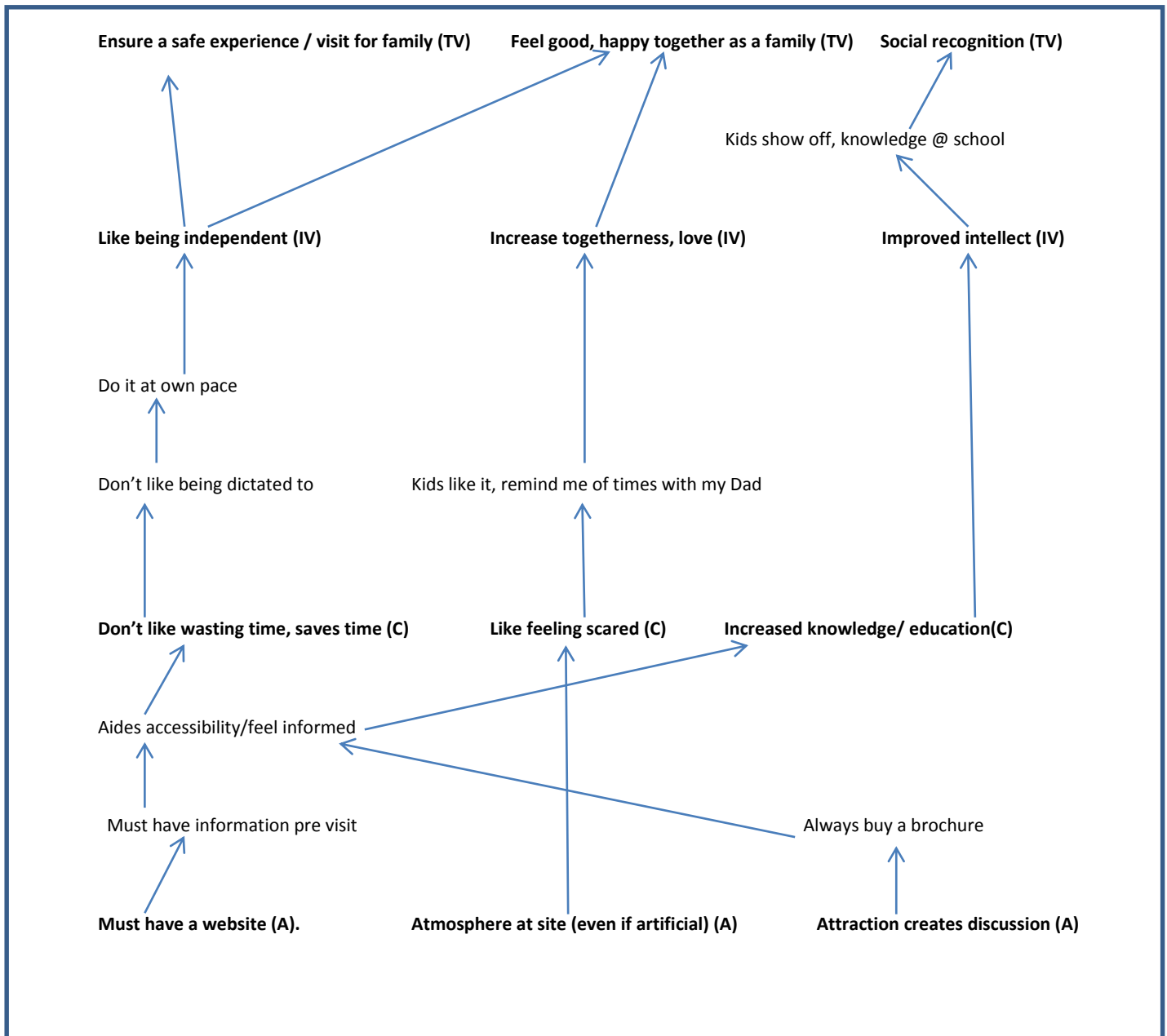
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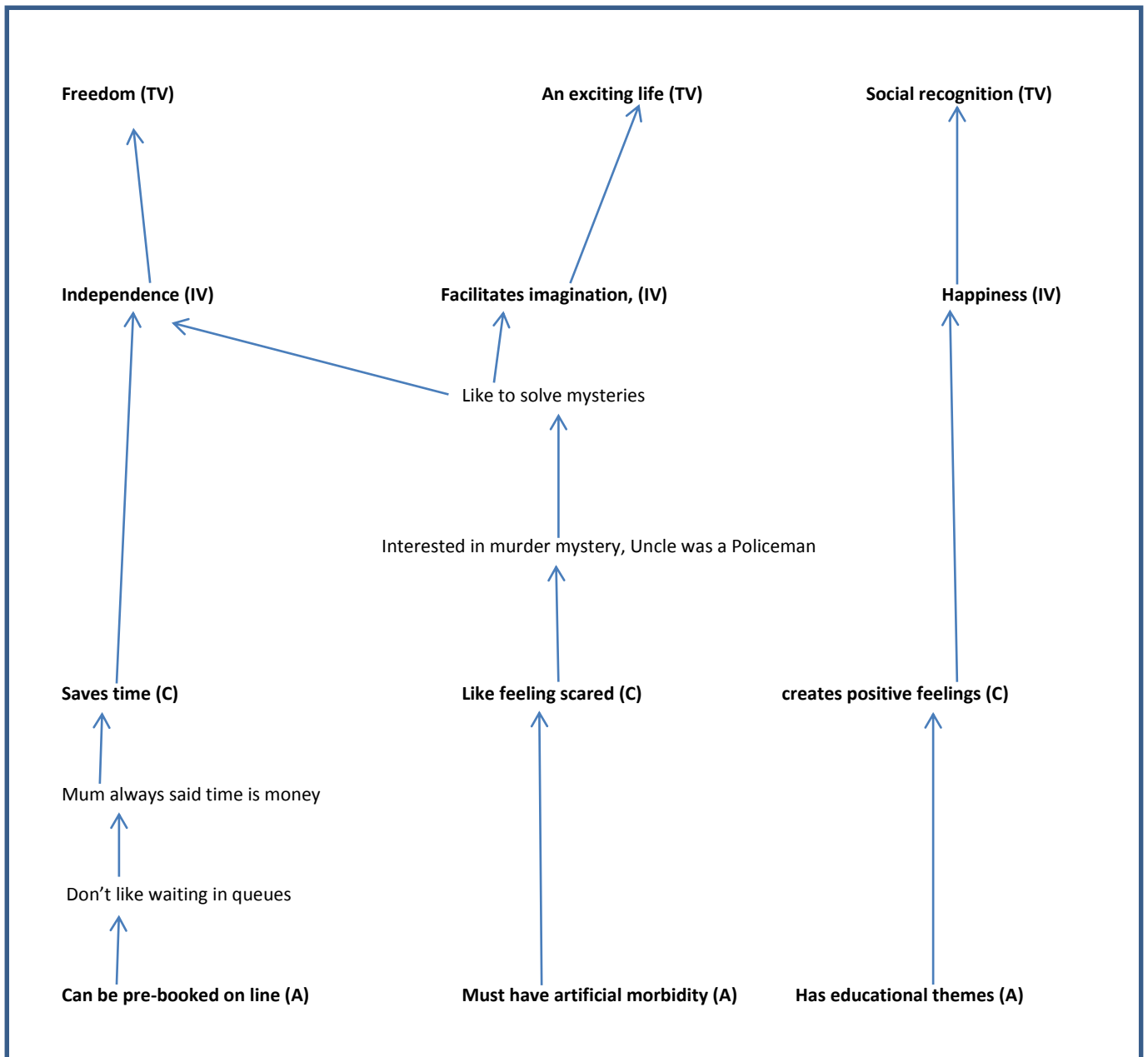
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APPENDICIES

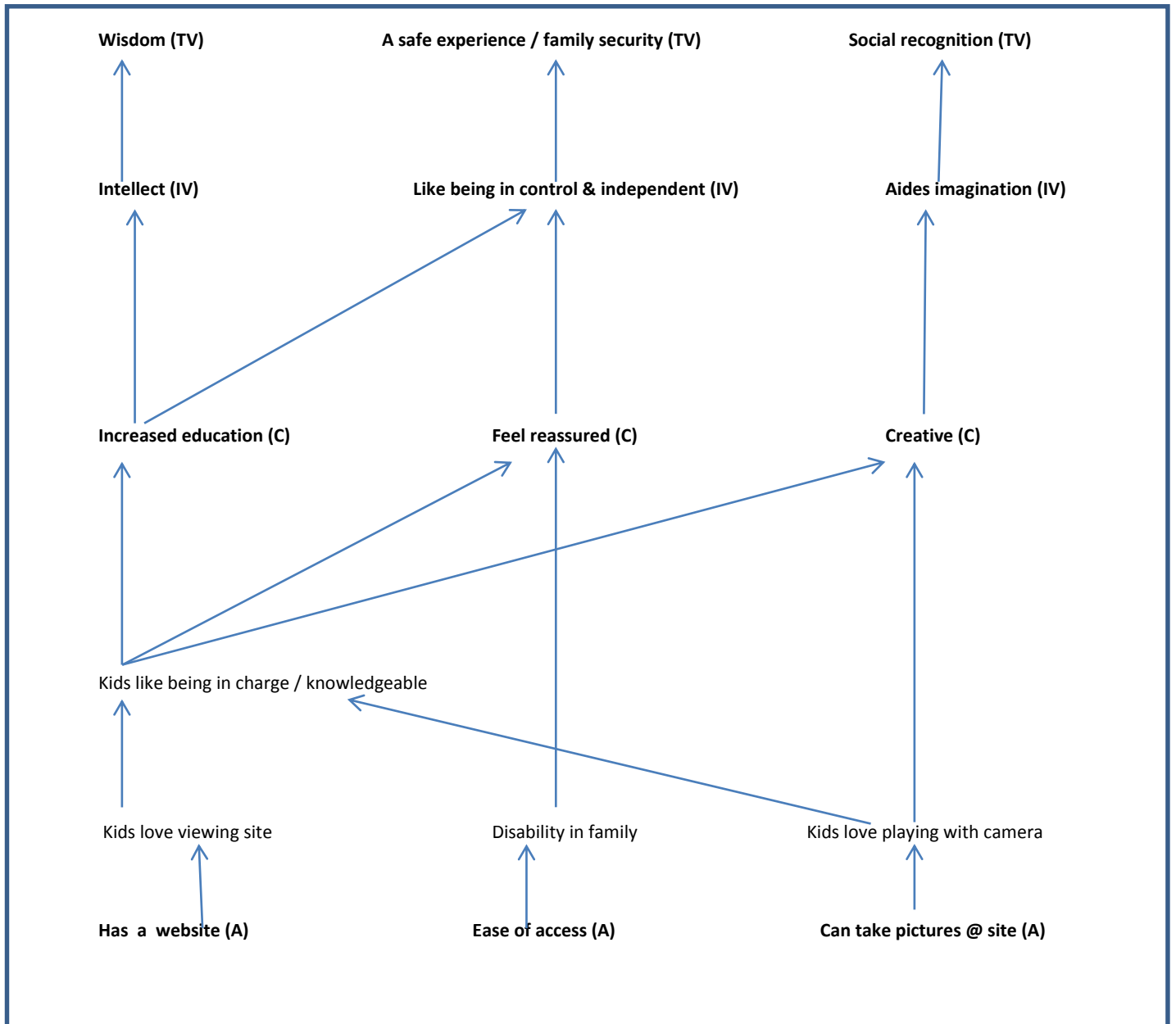
Appendix 1. Ladder interview 1. DARK FUN FACTORIES. Scream @ Madame Tussauds, London (UK) (female 45).



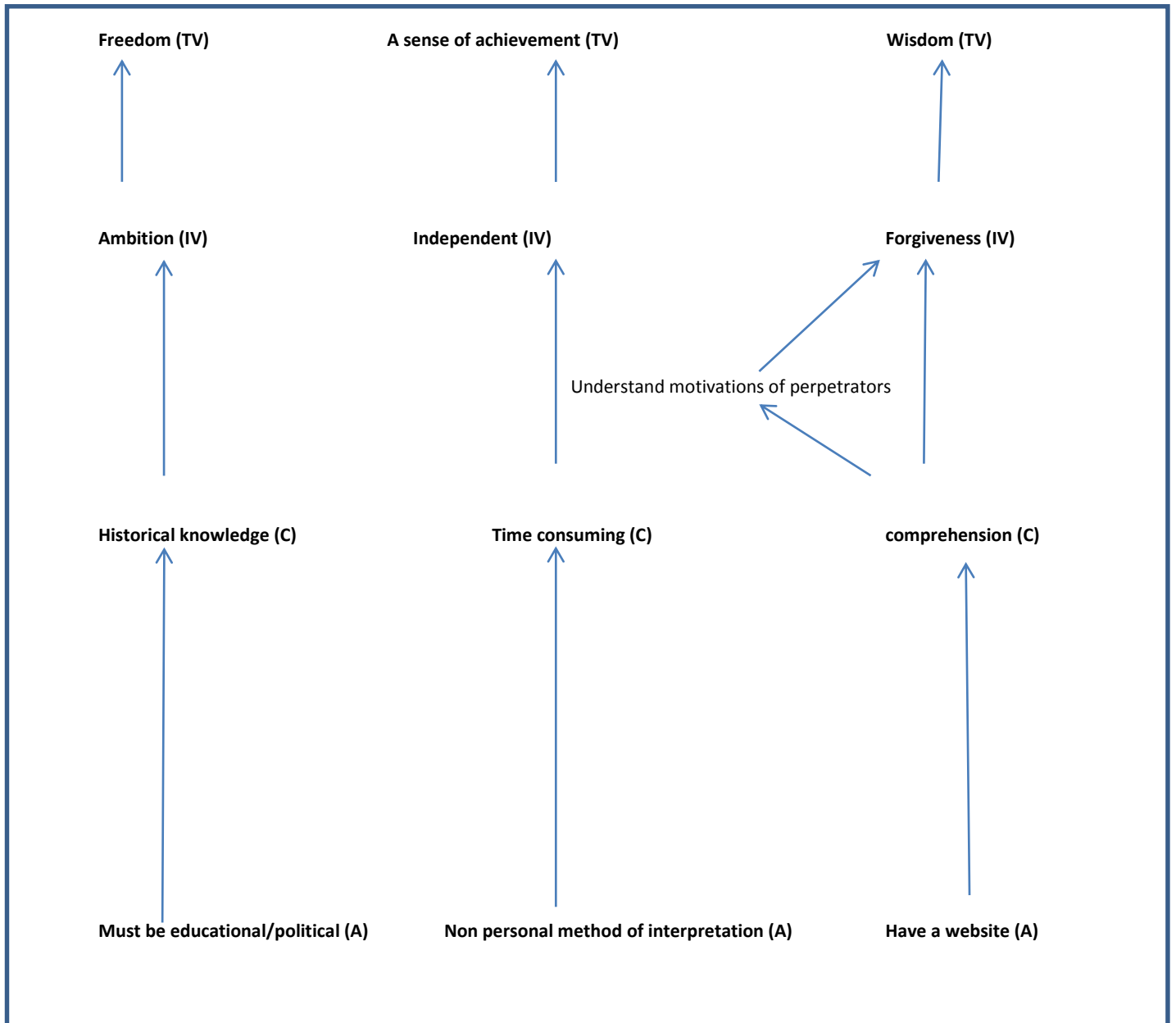
Appendix 2. Ladder interview 2. DARK FUN FACTORIES. The York Dungeon, York (UK) (male 33).



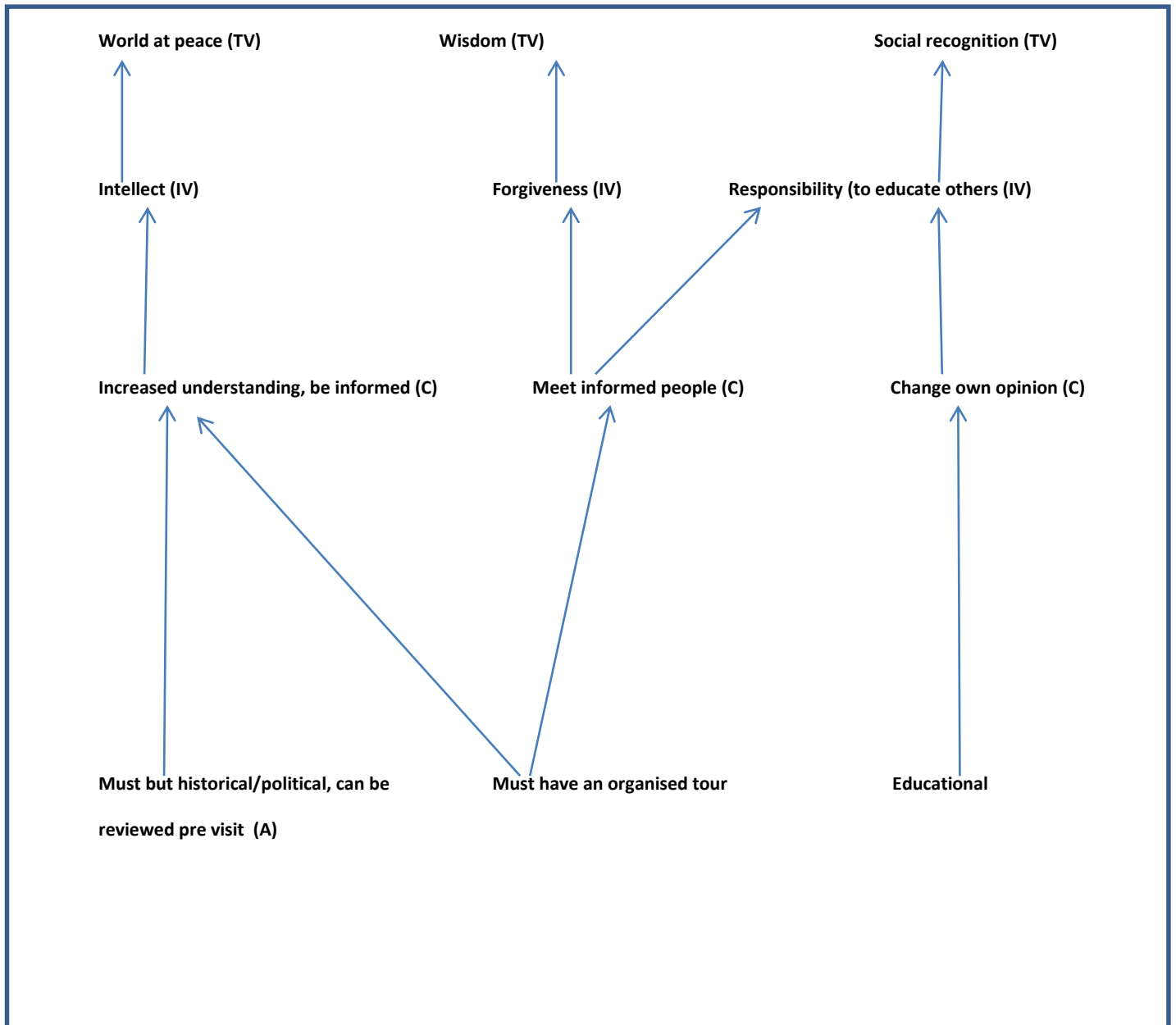
Appendix 3. Ladder interview 3. DARK EXHIBITIONS. British Museum, Egyptian exhibition, London (UK) (male 41).



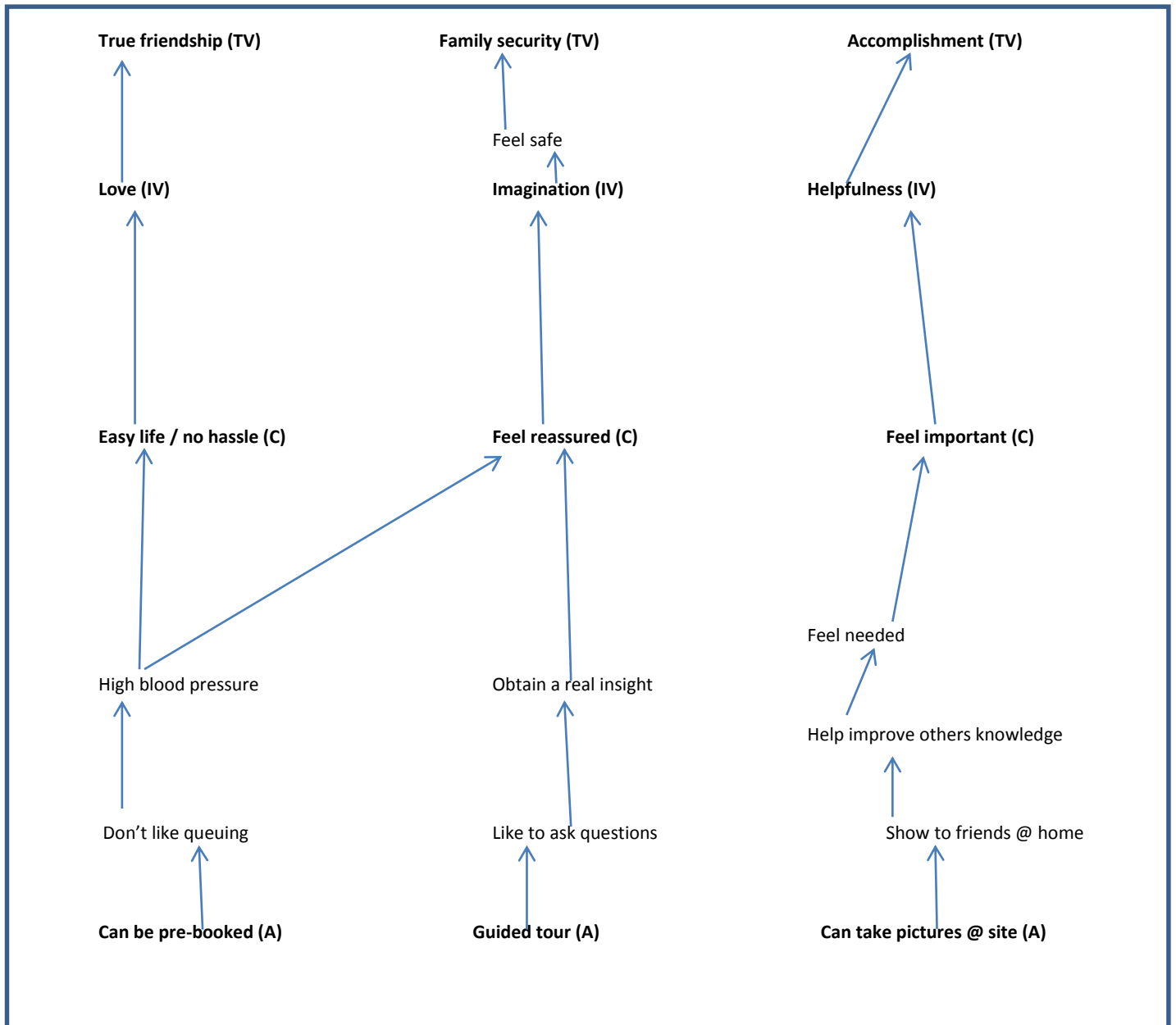
Appendix 4. Ladder interview 4. DARK EXHIBITIONS. The International Slavery Museum, Liverpool (UK) (female 33).



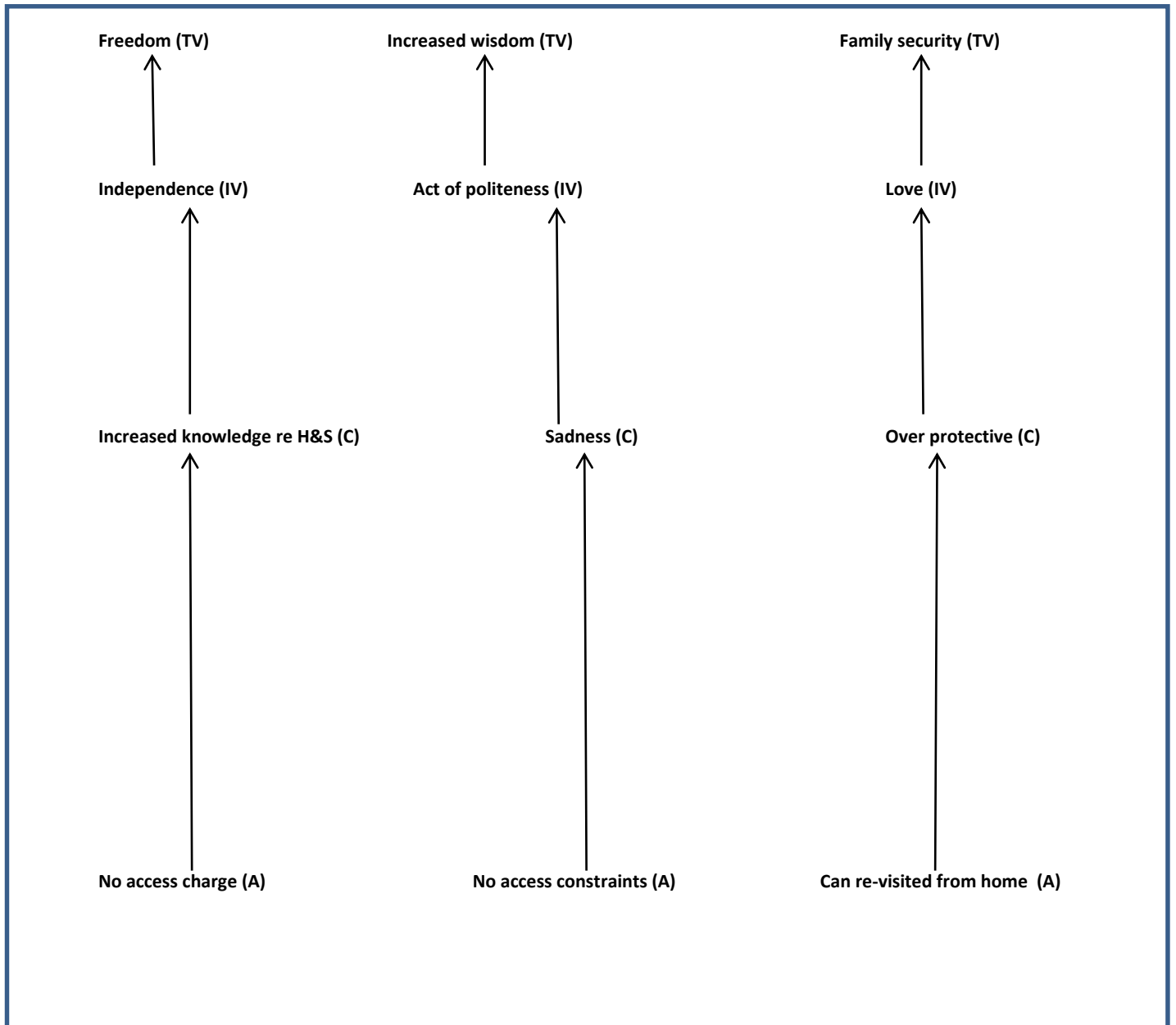
Appendix 5. Ladder interview 5. DARK DUNGEONS. Robben Island (South Africa) (male 58).



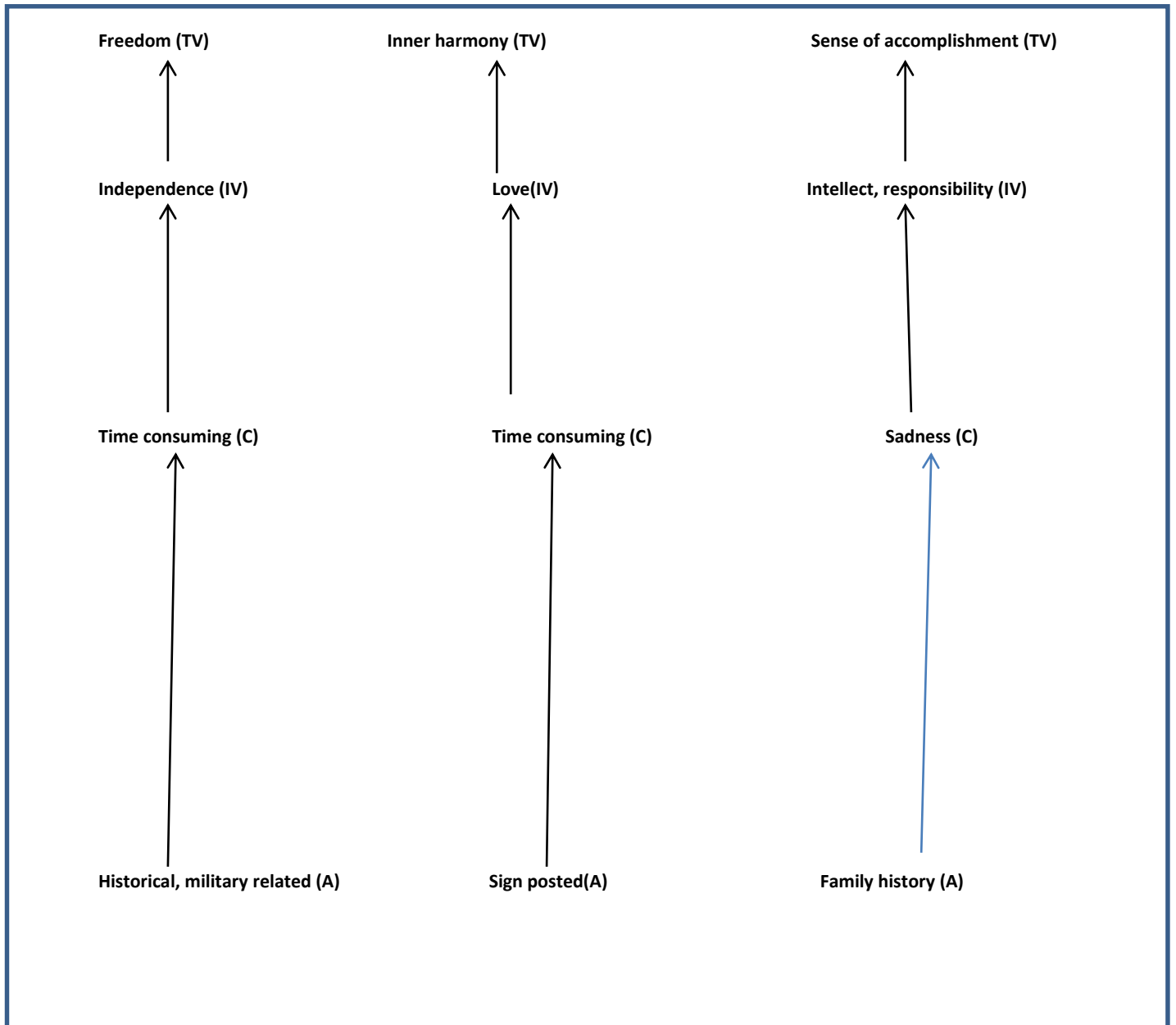
Appendix 6. Ladder interview 6. DARK DUNGEONS. Alcatraz, (USA) (female 53)



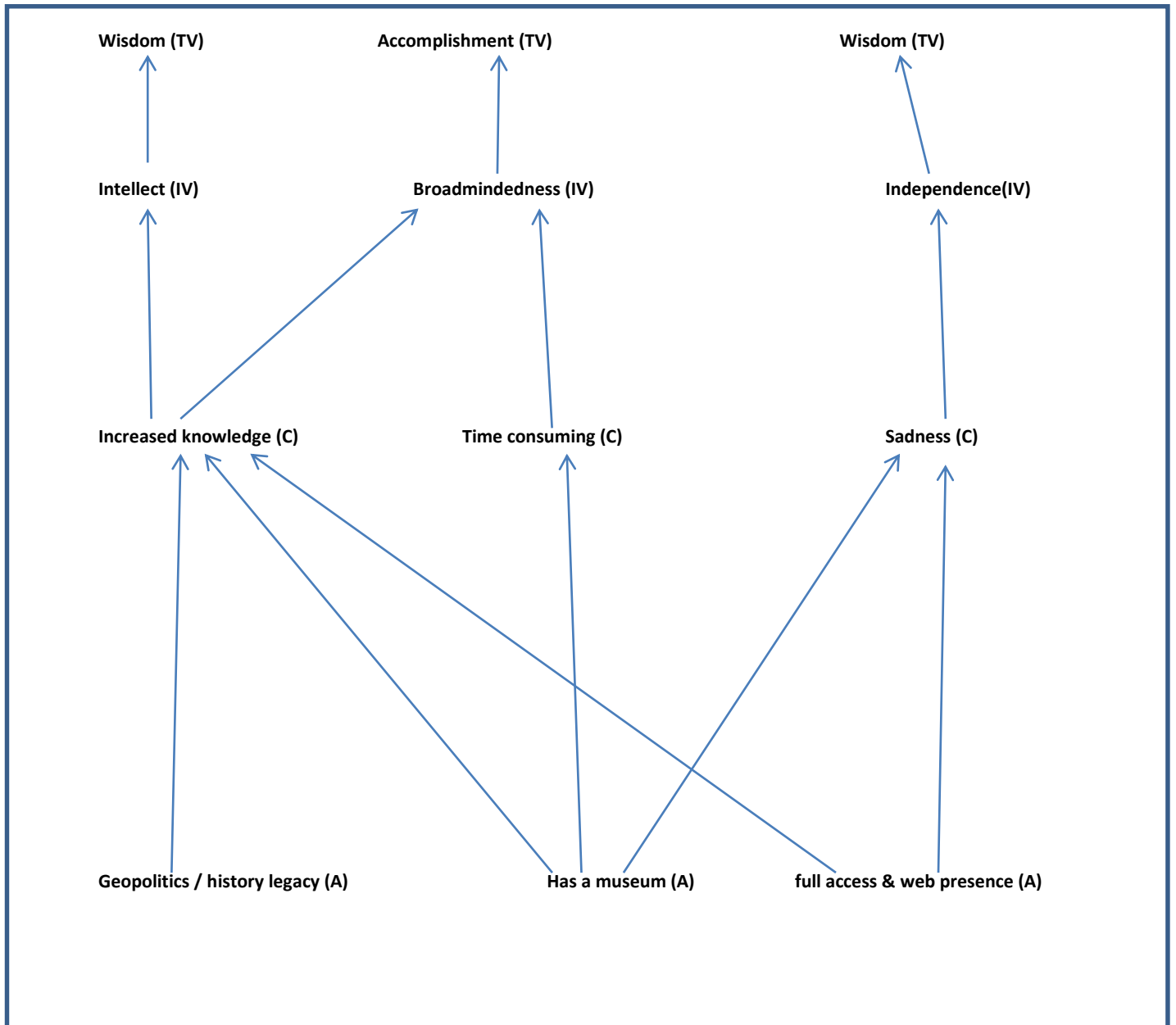
Appendix 7. Ladder interview 7. DARK RESTING PLACES, Aberfan (UK) (female 38).



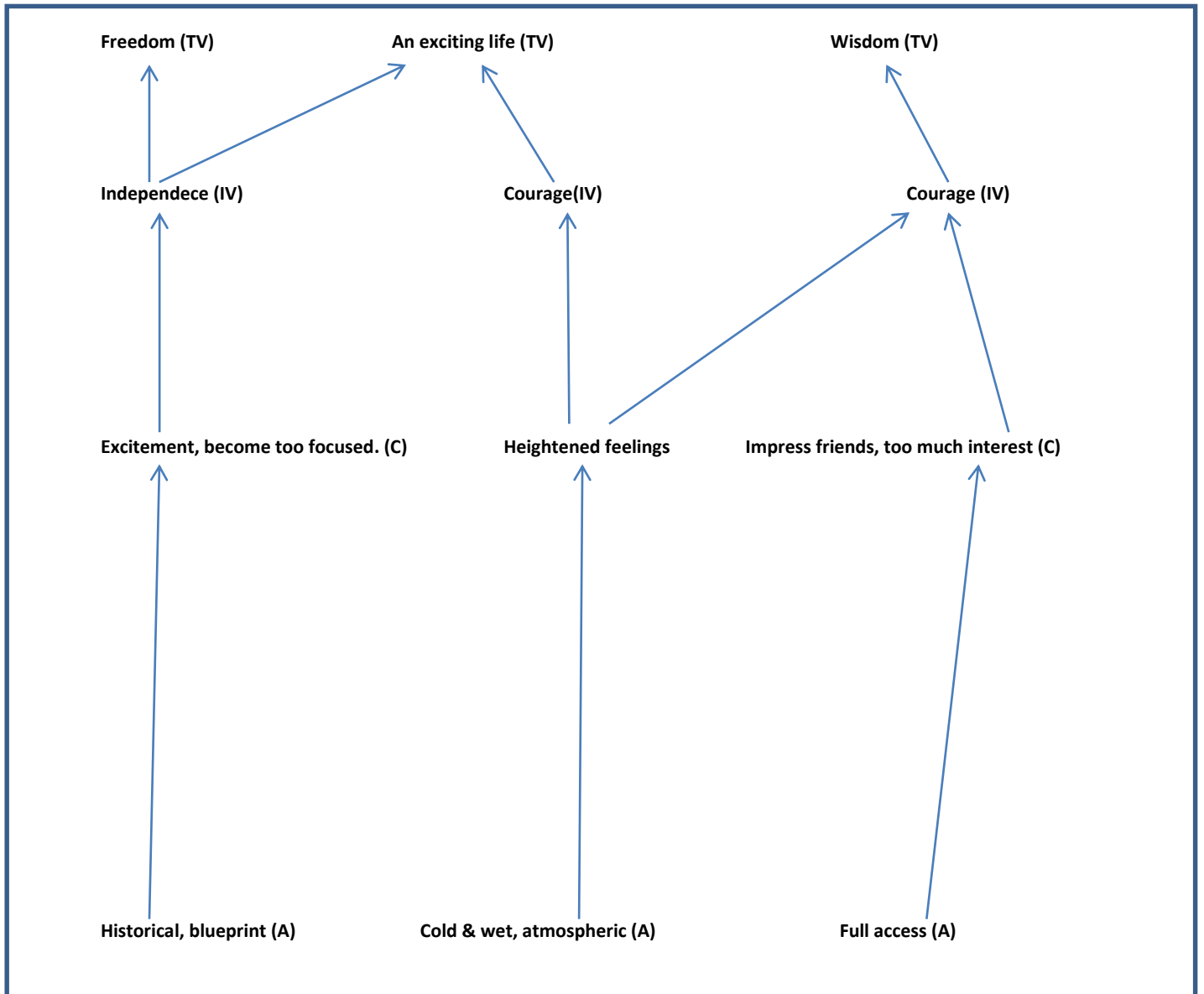
Appendix 8. Ladder interview 8 . DARK RESTING PLACES, WW2 Graves, dunkurk Town (France) (female 20).



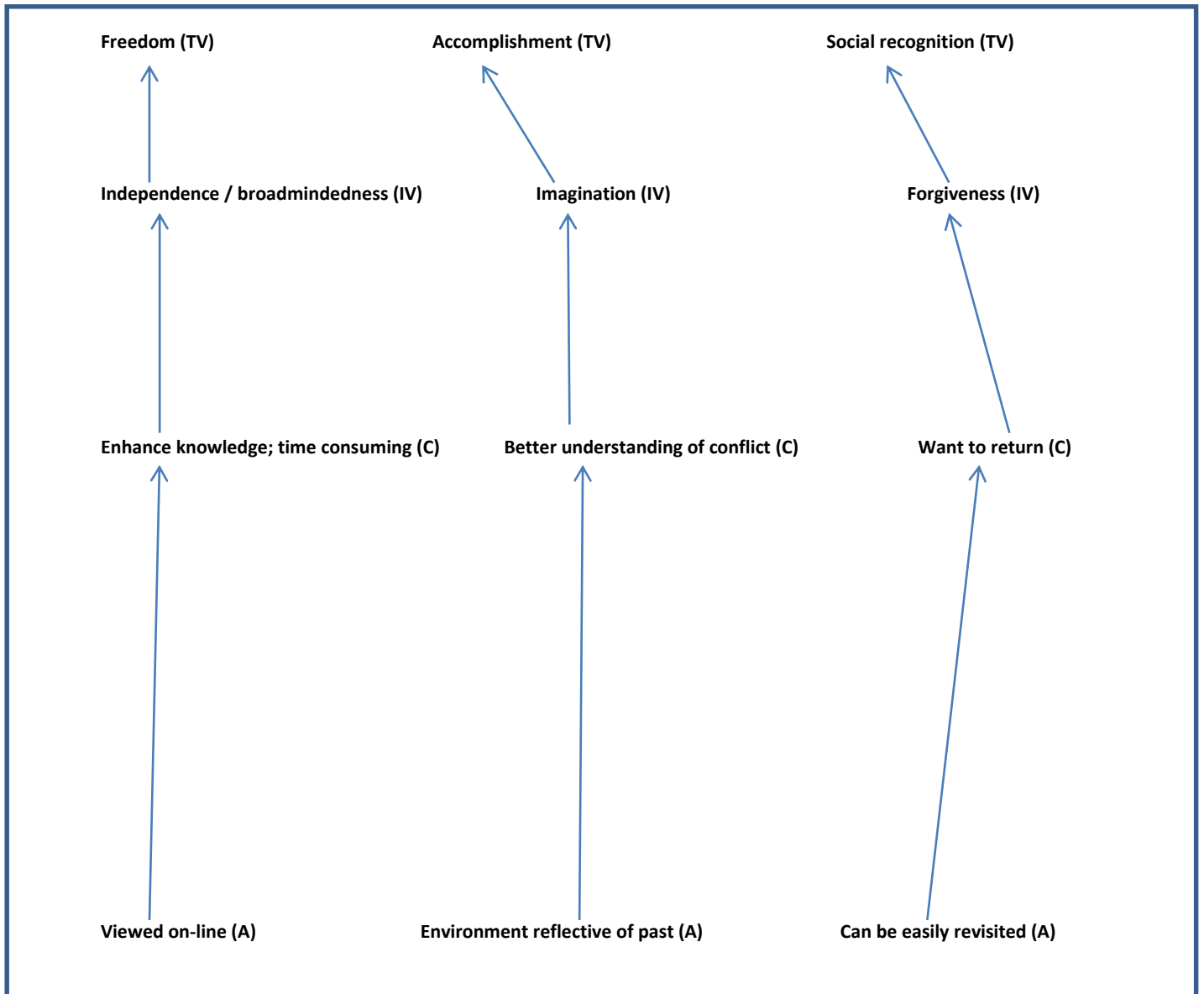
Appendix 9. Ladder interview 9. Interview 9. DARK SHRINES. Ground Zero, (USA) (male 22).



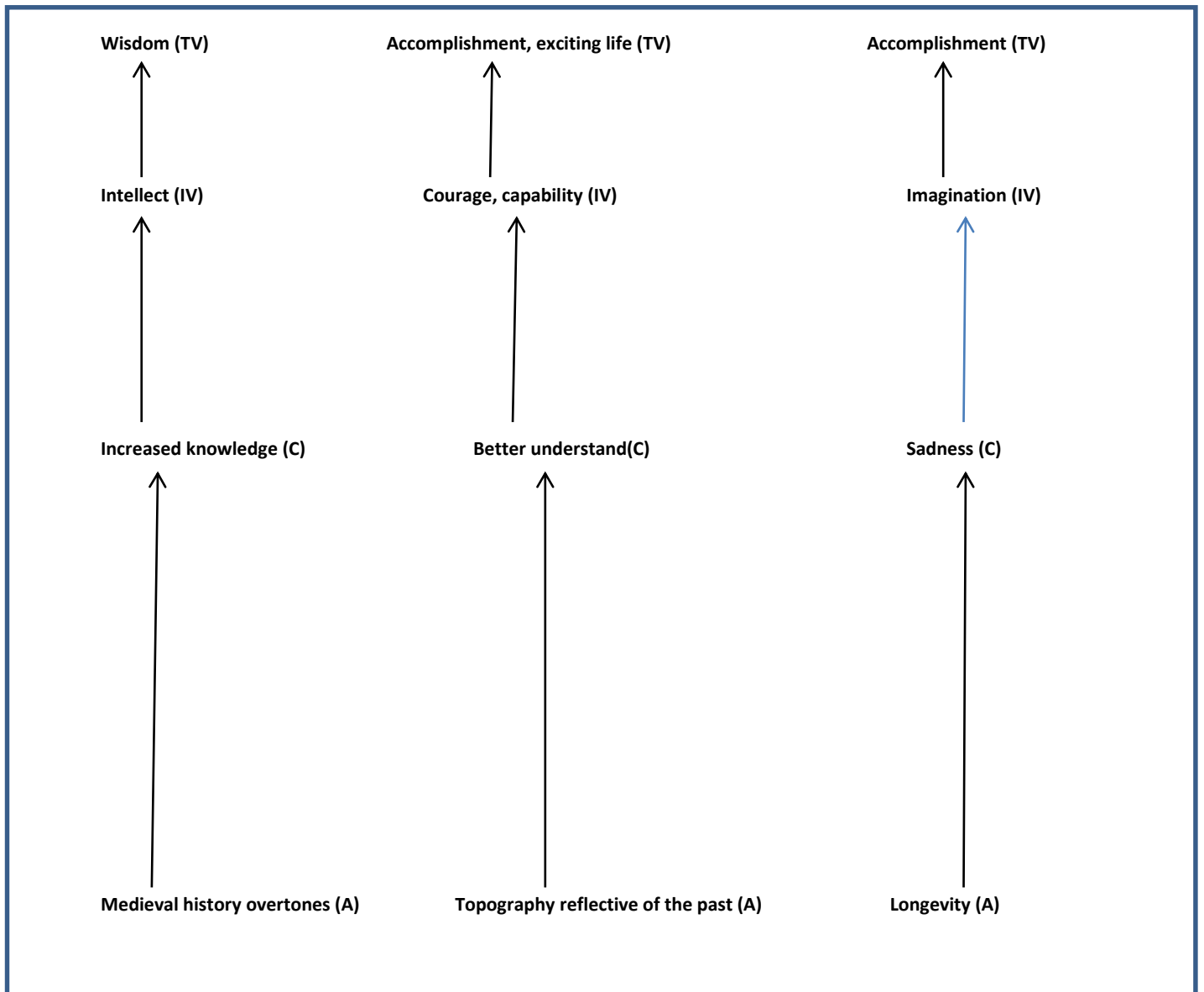
Appendix 10. Ladder interview 10. DARK SHRINES. Saddleworth Moor, (UK) (male 42).



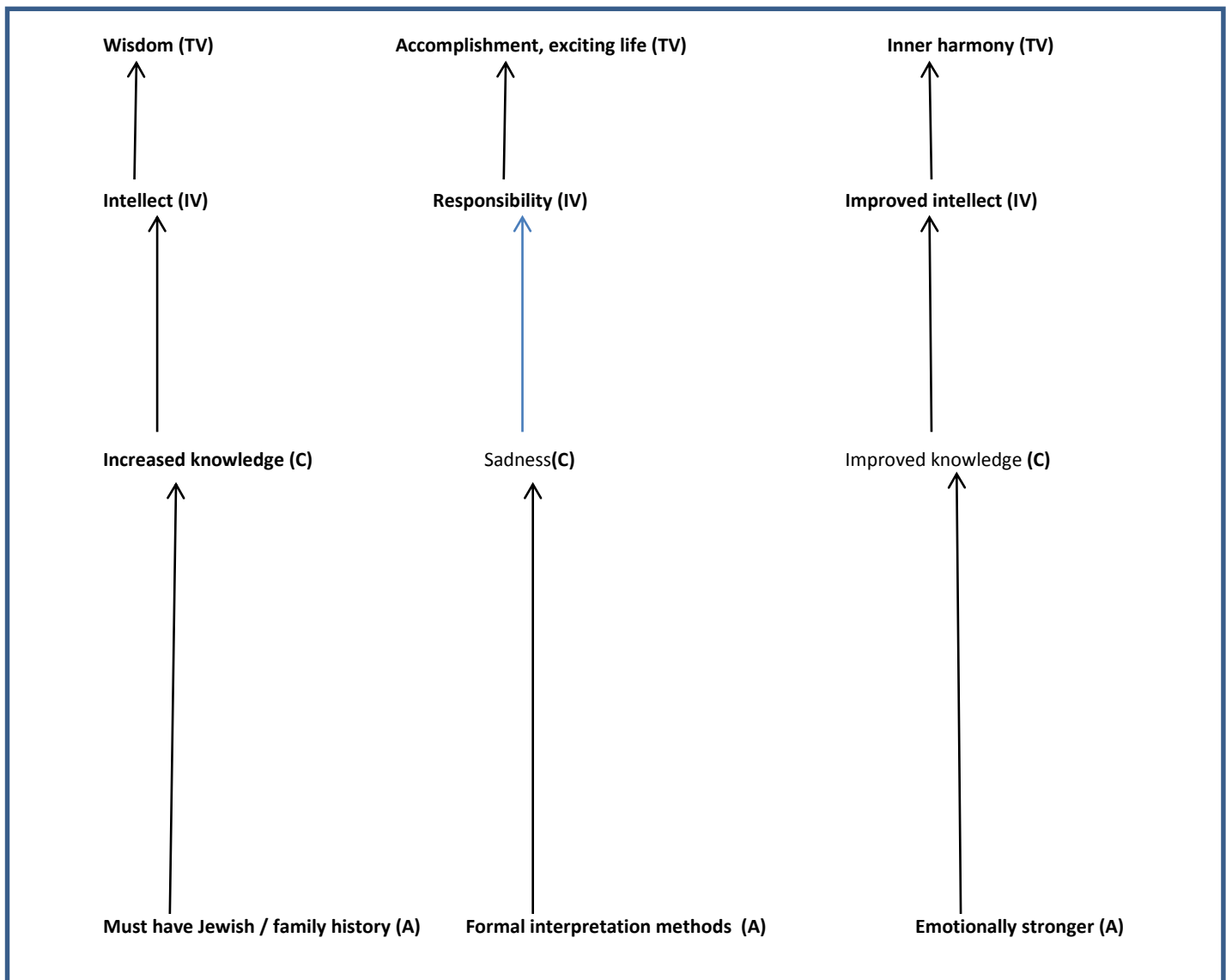
Appendix 11. Ladder interview 11. DARK CONFLICT SITES. Nicosia, (Cyprus) (male 22).



Appendix 12. Interview 12. DARK CONFLICT SITES. Medieval battle sites, varied (UK) (male 21).



Appendix 13. Ladder interview 13. DARK CAMPS OF GENOCIDE. Auschwitz, (Poland) (male 20).



Appendix 14. Ladder interview 14. DARK CAMPS OF GENOCIDE. Tuol Sleng genocide museum S-21, Phnom Penh. (Cambodia) (female 50).

